AN ANALYSIS OF THE USAGE AND INFLUENCE OF ISAIAH CHAPTERS 40-66 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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ABSTRACT

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Although Isaiah 40-66 is second only to the Psalms in frequency of citation in the New Testament, no comprehensive analytical study has been made of this material. This inductive examination is intended to meet this need.

In Chapter I the problem is defined, the methodology presented, and major secondary sources are enumerated. Chapter II consists of a textual, hermeneutical, and conceptual analysis of the citations; the New Testament readings are compared and contrasted with the Masoretic Text, the text of $1QIs^a$, $1QIs^b$, the LXX, and--where available--Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. In Chapter III over 148 possible allusions are examined; at least 75 are considered probable.

Chapter IV deals with the NT texts and (a) LXX MSS., (b) LXX origins and Hebrew archetypes, and (c) the three later Greek translators. Chapter V is concerned with hermeneutical and exegetical matters, the Sitz im Leben of the citations and allusions, and the process of selection of the Isaianic material. Chapter VI is a consideration of the influence of Isaiah 40-66 upon early Christian thought and

the thought of Jesus.

The following conclusions are reached:

(Chapter IV)

1. Many NT Greek texts attest to the wide distribution and the antiquity of the Greek rendering extant in the LXX, especially in Codex A; other NT Greek texts demonstrate the currency of non-LXX Greek renderings in NT times. Are some of these preserved in variant readings in the LXX?
2. Against the background of Qumran textual studies, it is proposed that (a) the text extant in Codex A and allied NT passages preserves the proto-LXX rendering and its Fourth Century B. C. Hebrew archetype, (b) other NT texts reflect the proto-MT archetype, and (c) still others preserve one or more non-LXX, non-MT Hebrew archetypes.
3. No relationship is found between the New Testament writers and Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion.

(Chapter V)

4. The early Christians and Jesus shared with the rabbis and Qumran (a) an extremely authoritative view of Scripture and (b) an intense apocalyptic viewpoint; however, the focus and emphasis of Christian interpretation is distinctive.
5. Six common methods of exegesis are defined: midrash, halakah, haggadah, supportive texts, assimilation, and midrash pesher. Midrash, halakah and haggadah are used chiefly by the rabbis; supportive text and midrash pesher by Qumran. The early Christian writers used primarily a distinctive method of exegesis,

Christian haggadah, but also supportive texts and assimilation.

6. The interpretative work was the product not of a formal school of scribal study (contra Stendahl) but of the variegated life of the early church.

7. The Isaianic material was drawn not from "testimony books" (contra Harris) but from the Old Testament itself; however, the selection was made not from "plot texts" (contra Dodd) but to undergird accepted Christian motifs and concerns.

(Chapter VI)

8. In New Testament interpretation Jesus is the "Lord", a title which denotes his sovereignty over the world and his effective work through his servants.

9. Arising in the earliest days of the church in the Palestinian community, the identification was based on Psalm 110:1 and Isaiah 45:22, 23, and was extensively elaborated on the basis of passages from Isaiah 40-66, a process still discernable in the Gospel of John.

10. The early church did not consider Jesus to be the "suffering servant" of II Isaiah (contra Jeremias et. al.); this identification was precluded by the application of the title "Lord".

11. The title "servant", found in the Acts, Matthew, and the Lukan birth-narrative, is primarily messianic; it also has prophetic and Mosaic undertones.

12. Jesus--on the basis of Isaiah 61:1f.--understood himself to be not the "suffering servant" but the last in a long line of suffering, piacularly significant martyr-prophets, working just before the end-time.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many persons contribute to an endeavor such as is represented by this paper, and an acknowledgment of some of these contributions is only fitting.

This investigation is the outgrowth of a much more general study of the same topic conducted in the Old Testament course on Second Isaiah, previously offered by Dr. James Muilenburg. This analysis was initiated partly as a result of his encouragement, and from time to time he has given valuable suggestions and advice, as well as his personal interest and concern. An extremely strong expression of gratitude should here be tendered to Dr. W. D. Davies, Chairman of the New Testament Department, Union Theological Seminary; although the guidance of this study was inherited from his predecessor, Dr. Davies on all occasions has used his valuable time to make scholarly criticisms and suggestions, presenting these with a concerned personal approach. Appreciation should also be expressed to Dr. Frederick C. Grant for his gracious words of encouragement, to Dr. Horace L. Friess for his valuable suggestions concerning scholarly method, and to many members of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in whom on many occasions I found interest and helpfulness. I owe a debt of knowledge and concern to two of my former theological professors, Dr. Albert C. Outler and Dr. Fred D. Gealy. To all who have contributed to my intellectual growth, many without names due to my own forgetfulness, and certainly beyond numbering,

my acknowledgment is due. In addition, no small contribution has been made by the patient and helpful staff of the Library of Union Theological Seminary.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This paper will seek to present a critical analysis of the quotations of and allusions to Isaiah, Chapters 40-66, in the New Testament, in an attempt to determine the usage of this material by the New Testament writers and the influence of Isaiah 40-66 upon the thought of the early church and of Jesus. Each citation and allusion will be examined in turn, inferences made, and a synthesis attempted--with the aid of secondary sources--in the three concluding chapters. These chapters will deal with textual, hermeneutic, and christological concerns.

The Isaianic material is the source that is second in frequency of usage in the New Testament. It may be suspected, therefore, that this material was of some importance in the development of the thought of the early church and in the mind of Jesus of Nazareth. Also, due to the abundance of citations and allusions, it may be possible to draw significant inferences concerning the textual tradition or traditions current in the time of the New Testament and to observe important implications concerning the manner in which scripture--at least Isaiah--was used in the early Christian communities and by Jesus himself. Surprisingly, however, the present writer has been unable to find any comprehensive treatment of the subject at hand. Many comments may be found in the large number of commentaries at our disposal, but to the best of the present writer's knowledge, no one has devoted himself to a comprehensive study of this specific topic. This being the case, it was thought advantageous to

conduct this study and to seek to apply some of the insights of modern critical scholarship to this restricted New Testament material. It is important to note this limitation: this study is devoted to the citations and the suggested allusions. No attempt has been made to assess the influence of the material in Isaiah Chapters 40-66 on the New Testament through indirect means. This appears to be a separate problem, and would require a second dissertation. It is also of importance to stress that the study embodied in this paper is based chiefly on primary sources: the relevant Biblical material. Representative secondary sources have been utilized, on most occasions for the purpose of discussing and unifying various detailed inferences. This study, therefore; is not intended to be a historical survey of the scholarly study of this topic; rather, it is an attempt to conduct a creative, critical analysis of the primary material. This limitation has necessitated reliance in several sections on a limited number of writers whose work provides the starting point for the considerations in this paper. In other words, the attempt is made here to examine the citations and allusions to Isaiah Chapters 40-66 in the New Testament, to draw inferences that seem justified by the evidence, and to formulate any conclusions that arise from these inferences.

In order to fulfill this purpose, twenty-three passages from Isaiah 40-66 cited in the New Testament will be considered in the order of their occurence in the Old Testament. Following this consideration, over 148 suggested allusions or groups of allusions will be examined. These two sections will provide the raw material

for our concluding considerations. The first concluding discussion will deal with textual concerns, and will relate the implications of the above analyses (1) to the question of Septuagint origins and textual traditions, (2) to the evaluation of Septuagint manuscripts, and (3) to the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The second concluding discussion will deal with hermeneutical and exegetical considerations, and will be concerned with (1) the hermeneutical principles embodied in New Testament usage, (2) the methods of exegesis used by the early Christians, (3) the Sitz im Leben of this exegesis, and (4) the sources of early Christian interpretative tradition and the usage of Isaiah 40-66 as a source. The final chapter, dealing with christological questions, will begin with a brief discussion of the place of Isaiah 40-66 in the Old Testament and a survey of the thought of this material. We will then consider (1) the usage of the divine title "Lord" in reference to Jesus and its ramifications, including the Old Testament usage of the title, the elaboration of the title and its significance with respect to the Risen One, and the origin of the identification, (2) the problem of Jesus and the "Servant of the Lord," and (3) the role of Isaiah 40-66 in the teachings and self-consciousness of Jesus. The chapter will be terminated by a summary of conclusions reached in this final chapter. The movement in this paper will be from specific to general, from basic research to more comprehensive discussions and conclusions.

As noted above, the secondary resource material is sparse. Several books deal in general with the quotations of the Old

Testament in the New. David McCalman Turpie, in 1868 and 1872, produced a pair of books which were an attempt to provide answers to these questions;[1] although the basic material is conveniently presented, the value of the comments is practically nil because of the advent of newer critical insights. In 1884 Crawford H. Toy again resumed the discussion with his book Quotations in the New Testament.[2] Although written in the 19th Century, and although some of Toy's presuppositions are not generally acceptable today, much of what he said is still extremely valuable. These books serve as examples of general studies of citations in the New Testament; however, they are not specifically concerned with Isaiah 40-66, and do not carry out extensive examinations of the passages under consideration. The same qualification may be made of what is perhaps the best of the general examinations of Old Testament passages in the New, C. H. Dodd's According to the Scriptures.[3] Although directed toward a different purpose and restricted to Pauline material, the same type of general treatment is found in E. Earle Ellis' Paul's Use of the Old Testament[4] and Otto Michel's Paulus und Zeine Bibel.[5] Because

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[1]The Old Testament in the New: A Contribution to Biblical Criticism and Interpretation (London: Williams and Norgate, 1868); The New Testament View of the Old (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872).

[2](New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884).

[3]According to the Scriptures, The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1952)

[4](Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957)

[5]Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie ... 2d Reihe: Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Monographien. 18. Band (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1929).

of the synthesizing of all Old Testament material, the books contribute little to an understanding of a specific Old Testament document. Only a detailed, inductive, critical analysis--such as is attempted in this paper--can serve this end.

Two recent books are based on this approach, i.e., the detailed analysis of the usage of a restricted source. One is the valuable book by Simon Kistemaker, but it is devoted to the Psalm citations in Hebrews.[6] However, a student by the name of Morna D. Hooker has recently produced a detailed, critical study dealing primarily with the usage of the "servant songs" of Second Isaiah in the New Testament;[7] it is the present writer's opinion that Miss Hooker's method and basic conclusions are generally sound. However, since Miss Hooker's work is limited basically to only one selected motif--that of the Suffering Servent--it was not possible to conduct a complete examination and to formulate more comprehensive conclusions concerning the usage and influence of Isaiah 40-66 as a whole in the New Testament. This paper is intended to meet this need.

The following sources have been used for primary material. For the Masoretic Text our source has been the Biblia Hebraica, ed. by R. Kittel.[8] The readings of 1QIs^{a} (first scroll of Isaiah, found at Qumran, Cave 1) are taken from The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's

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[6]The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Amsterdam: Wed. G. Van Soest N. V., 1961).

[7]Jesus and The Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament (London: SPCK, 1959).

[8]Biblia Hebraica, ed. Rud. Kittel, Ninth Edition (Stuttgart: Privileg. Wuertt. Bibelanstalt, 1954).

Monastery, Vol. I: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary, ed. by Millar Burrows.[9] The readings of the old Greek version (LXX), of Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila, are derived from Joseph Ziegler's excellent critical edition.[10] The New Testament texts are taken from Novum Testamentum Graece, edited by Eberhard Nestle.[11] The critical signs used in the apparatus are derived primarily from the source upon which the text depends; following are those used in the LXX critical notes which are taken from Ziegler:

Textual Groupings:

I. The Alexandrian Text

Major witnesses: A-Q-26-86-106-710 Cyril of Alexandria
Secondary witnesses: ℵ 198 239 301 393 407 410 534 538 544 965 Coptic and Old Latin Fathers

II. The Hexaplaric Recension

O" = B-V (O') + 88-Sy^h (OI) + 109-736 (OII); Q^{mg} Syh^{mg} Syp Eusebius Basilius Hieronymus

III. The Lucianic Recension

L" = 22-48-51-231-763 (L') + 62-147 (LI) + 90-130-311 (LII) + 36-93-96 (LIII); 46 233 456 926 88 403 449 544 $ℵ^{ca}$ 86^c 764^c Q^{mg} Syh^{mg} Syl Chrysostomus Theodoretus

IV. The Catena Group

C" = 87-91-309-490 (C') + 377-564-565 (CI) + 49-764 (CII); 566 Complutensian Polyglot

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[9](New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950).

[10]Isaias, Vol. XIV in Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, ed. by Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis, (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939).

[11](Stuttgart: Privileg. Wuertt. Bibelanstalt, 1953).

Versions:

The later Greek translators of the OT are indicated by the first letter of their name

Bo	Bohairic
Cop	Coptic
Sa	Sahidic
Syh	Syrohexaplaric
Syl	Syrolucianic
Syp	Syropalestinian
Targ	Targum
Vulg	Vulgate
Wirc	Codex Wirceburgensis

Church Fathers:

Ambr	Ambrosius
Ath	Athanasius
Aug	Augustinus
Barn	Epistula Barnabae
Bas	Basilius
Chr	Chrysostomus
Clem	Clemens Alexandrinus
Clem Rom	Clemens Romanus
Cypr	Cyprianus
Cyr	Cyrillus Alexandrinus
Did	Didache
Epiph	Epiphanius
Eus	Eusebius
Hes	Hesychius Hierosolymitanus
Hi	Hieronymus
Hil	Hilary
Hippol	Hippolytus Romanus
Ir	Irenaeus Lugdunensis
Ir^{lat}	latin translation of Ir Greek text
Just	Justinus
Orig	Origenes
$Orig^{lat}$	latin translation of Origen's Greek works
Pr	Procopius Gazaeus
Spec	Speculum Audi Israel
Tert	Tertullianus
Tht	Theodoretus
Tyr	Tyconius

Selected symbols:

*	original reading
'	corrector
c	later corrector
mg	marginal

txt — text
⁂ ÷ — Asterisk and Obelus (scribal mark indicating possible spurious reading)

English translations cited in most instances are those of the Revised Standard Version;[12] in rare instances the rendering has been made by the writer.

In all instances in this paper the attempt has been made to approach the passage under consideration without bias or prejudice, believing that the inferences and conclusions should arise out of the material itself. Likewise, personal convictions and devotional interests--it is hoped--have been divorced from intellectual examination. On this basis, it is intended that the Spirit be permitted to guide our considerations, in order that the Biblical material be interpreted correctly.

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[12] The Old Testament, Vol. I, II (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1952); The New Testament (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946).

CHAPTER II

QUOTATIONS FROM ISAIAH 40-66 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Definition of the Term "Quotation"

In any rational endeavor, it is essential that the terms which are used be adequately defined. This necessity is present especially in a study dealing with the terms "quotation" and "allusion" for at times the lines dividing these two classifications are fine indeed. In these cases, the limits must be somewhat arbitrarily set. However, in the large majority of cases, the classification of the passage may be determined without great difficulty.

Two characteristics mark the presence of a "quotation." Either or both may be present in any particular passage. The first is the presence of a "Citation Formula." This Citation Formula may be defined as an introductory sentence or phrase, which often suggests the New Testament writer's understanding of the source of the quotation, and always indicates that the passage is taken from an accepted authority, i.e., in the case of the Old Testament quotations, from the Scriptures. These Citation Formulae fall, generally speaking, into two classifications in the New Testament: those using a form of the Greek verb γράφω and those using a form of the verb λέγω. To be sure, these verbs are varied in their application by the addition of prepositions, nouns, and adverbs, but they retain the force of the two verbs. With reference to quotations considered in this paper, only two citations have other formulae, one having the verb ἐντέλλω and

the other the conjunction ὁτι. In four passages no Citation Formula whatever appears.[1]

It is neither possible nor necessary to explore at this point the significance of these Citation Formulae. This will be carried out at certain points in the general analysis of the quotations and in a more detailed discussion later. Generally speaking, to say that the formula embodies a strong conviction on the part of the New Testament writer concerning the authority and meaning of the cited passage is sufficient.

A second mark of a "quotation" is identity or close similarity between the New Testament passage and the Old, either with respect to words, phrases, or content. This comparison, in some cases, becomes a problem, due to the lack of a single Old Testament version upon which all of the New Testament writers depended. Nevertheless, in every quotation examined below there is close similarity of thought and content, and often of phraseology. It is at this point that it may be difficult to determine whether a passage is a "quotation" or an "allusion," in the absence of a Citation Formula. It should be noted, however, that the similarity usually involves a number of words, and this scope tends to distinguish it from "allusion." In other words, in most cases the conscious presentation of Scripture on the part of the writer may be discerned. This aspect is present even when no

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[1]See Appendix C for a detailed break-down of the Citation Formulae, in regard both to particular formula and to particular New Testament writers.

Citation Formula is present. In contrast, "allusions" often may be unconscious reminiscences or assimilation of Scriptural material. This matter, and the inferences which may be drawn from it, will be discussed in another section of this paper.

In summary, a passage may be recognized as a "quotation" by two characteristics. First, an introductory phrase or sentence, called a "Citation Formula," is frequently used. Second, close similarity or even identity of phraseology and content is often present, giving the impression of conscious reference on the part of the New Testament writer. All passages discussed below have one or both of these characteristics.

General Analysis of the Quotations from Second and "Third" Isaiah in the New Testament

A brief introductory statement is fitting as a preface to this section. The primary purpose of this analysis is neither philological nor textual, though both interests are present when relevant. Neither is this analysis conducted to shed light on the processes of transmission and interpretation of the New Testament passage. The purpose lies mainly in the field of early New Testament thought and its development. What influence did the thought of Second Isaiah and his disciples have upon the New Testament writers, their communities, and their understanding of the facts of their experience? Did the citations furnish proof-texts for the support of conclusions at which they had already arrived? Or were portions of Second Isaiah formative in the development of their understanding

of Jesus of Nazareth and all that issued from Him?

To seek to answer these questions this analysis is being conducted, and, it is hoped, the method will reflect this purpose. First the New Testament passage will be closely compared with the LXX, the Masoretic Text, and other versions. On the way some inferences will be drawn concerning the textual tradition represented in the New Testament passages. The major focus will be upon the content of the passage. From the consideration of the content, the New Testament context, and other facts, an attempt will be made to extract any inferences which are warranted. These inferences will then be reserved for summary and interpretation in the final chapters.

Since investigation has shown that the usual textual source for the Old Testament passage was the LXX or a kindred version, this version will be presented along with the New Testament passage. In addition, the Masoretic Text, the readings of $1QIs^a$, and the translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus--when available--will also be given. Let us now proceed with this analysis.[2]

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[2]In this paper, /// signifies citation and # allusion. "CF" indicates "Citation Formula."

Isaiah 40:3-5 /// Mark 1:3; Matthew 3:3; Luke 3:4-6; John 1:23

MT:

3 קוֹל קוֹרֵא

בַּמִּדְבָּר פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה

יַשְּׁרוּ[a] בָּעֲרָבָה מְסִלָּה לֵאלֹהֵינוּ:[b]

4 כָּל־גַּי[c] יִנָּשֵׂא[d] וְכָל־הַר וְגִבְעָה יִשָּׁפֵלוּ

וְהָיָה הֶעָקֹב לְמִישׁוֹר וְהָרְכָסִים[e] לְבִקְעָה:

5 וְנִגְלָה כְּבוֹד יְהוָה וְרָאוּ כָל־בָּשָׂר יַחְדָּו[f]

כִּי[g] פִּי[h] יְהוָה דִּבֵּר:

[a] IQIs[a] וישרו [b] IQIs[a] לאלוהינו [c] IQIs[a] כול
[d] IQIs[a] גי [e] IQIs[a] והרוכסים [f] IQIs[a] יחדו
[g] IQIs[a] כיא [h] IQIs[a] פיא

LXX:

3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

ἑτοιμάσατε[a] τὴν ὁδὸν[b] κυρίου,

εὐθείας ποιεῖτε[c] τὰς τρίβους[d] τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν[de]

4 πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται

καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ[f] βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται,[g]

καὶ ἔσται πάντα[h] τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖαν[i]

καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα[j] εἰς πεδία[k]

5 [l-]καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου,[l]

καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ [m-]τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ[m]

ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν

[a] 736 ετοιμασετε [b] Just Hil τας οδους

[c]Q[mg] 22*-763-LI-311-456 Theo (=MT) adds δια της αβατου
[d]309-566 534 Eus Cyr[lem] Hil (=NT) αυτου
[e]Clem spec Audi Israel reads κυριου
[f]534 Cop παν before βουνος
[g]22*-48-231[c]-763-62-90-96-130-456 ταπεινωθησονται
[h]Q Syh marked ÷ ; A V 22[c]-93-456 566 410 449' 534 Eus Hi omit
[i]L' -51-36[c]-96 ευθεια; LI-36[c] ευθεα
[j]10ό 22[c]-LII-93-86[c]-456 566 449' 534 538 613* Cop Eus Thtαι τραχειαι
[k] Syh[mg] Just Eus , Ziegler reads οδους λειας; Cyr πεδιαδα; Cypr campum
[l-l]564 omits
[m-m]86 marked with ÷ ; 534 Eus adds ημων

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus

3α΄ φωνη καλουντος εν τη ερημω Eus α΄ ευθυ(νατε) εν ομαλη απεσκολοπισμενη(ν) 86 σ΄ ευτρεπισατέ (α΄θ΄ αποσκευσατε σ΄ ευτρ. 86) την οδον κυριου ομολισατε εν αβατω οδον τω θεω ημων Eus
4πληρωθησεται) α΄ επαρθησεται σ΄ υφωθητω 86 τα σκολια εις ευθ.) α΄ το περικαμτες εις ευθυτητα Chr 86 εις οδους λειας) α΄σ΄ εις πεδιον θ΄ ομοιως τοις οδ.
5Q και οφθησεται) α΄σ΄θ΄ και αποκαλυφθησεται 86 Eus

Mark 1:2,3 CF: "as it is written in Isaiah the prophet"

2Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν [a-]τῷ Ἡσαιᾳ τῳ προφήτῃ[a]
ἰδοὺ[b]ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου
ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου[c]
3φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου
εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ[d]

[a-a]Koine W τοις προφηταις [b] Koine pl vg[cl] εγω
[c]Koine pm Orig εμπροσθεν σου
[d]D it Ir[lat] του θεου ημων (υμ- D)

Matthew 3:3 CF: "spoken through the prophet Isaiah"

οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαιου τοῦ
προφήτου λέγοντος
φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου
εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ [a]

[a] b sy[c] Ir του θεου ημων

Luke 3:4-6 CF: "as it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet"

4ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου
φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου
εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ [a]
5πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται
καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται
καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείας [b]
καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας
6καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σαρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ

[a] Dυμων; r sy τω θεω ημων
[b] Hez Koine pl θ ευθειαν

John 1:23 CF: "as Isaiah the prophet said" (follows quotation)

ἔφη
ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου
καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαιας ὁ προφήτης

This first quotation is of great importance in our study of quotations from Second Isaiah, in that it throws important light upon several aspects of early Christian life and thought. Several reasons may be given for its importance, and the value of the inferences which may be drawn from it. First, it represents one of the few points of agreement in Christian apologetic between the Synoptic and Johannine traditions. Second, the Synoptic witness is basically uniform with respect to the quotation from Isaiah, yet an analysis of the particular context in each Synoptic Gospel yields valuable information.

There can be little doubt but that the Synoptic quotations are taken from the LXX textual tradition. In addition, the relation of John to the LXX textual tradition is almost as strong. This dependence upon the LXX tradition, rather than upon the Masoretic text, is demonstrated by three particulars: "in the wilderness" is related by the LXX to φωνὴ βοῶντος instead of ἑτοιμάσατε , an equivalent for בָּעֲרָבָה is omitted, and τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ stands in the place of יְהוָה. The fact that the Qumran Scrolls agree with the Masoretic text with respect to the first variant only makes more significant the agreement of the New Testament writers with themselves and with the LXX.

Luke's citation is by far the most extensive. At least in Luke it can be demonstrated that the New Testament textual tradition is that of Alexandrinus, or of one very similar. In the LXX Alexandrinus reads εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας instead of εἰς πεδία,

and omits πάντα, which was branded by Origen as spurious as Ziegler indicates. Luke follows **A** in both places. This is of help in dealing with the variant for εὐθείας in Luke. Although admittedly B, D, and some of the latin manuscripts--which read εὐθείας--has the most difficult reading, Luke's proximity to the textual tradition of **A** favors εὐθεῖαν, the reading of Aleph, A, C, the Koine, Theta, and most other manuscripts.

Let us now turn our attention to an examination of the quotation from Isaiah. It is obvious that this passage was a great value to the Christians from an early date; only in this way may its presence in all four Gospels be accounted for. **A.** R. C. Leaney has maintained that the passage was taken from Q,[1] and it was very likely present in that source. C. G. Montefiore, citing B. H. Streeter, pointed out that the passage formed an important part of early Christian apologetic, present in the tradition prior to written documents.[2] This is not unlikely either. F. C. Grant has maintained that the citation was authentic with John the Baptist himself, although John expected God, not Jesus of Nazareth.[3] Grant's conclusion is difficult to substantiate, since it is clear that John's work and teaching has been re-interpreted by early Christian

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[1] **A** Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke. In Black's New Testament Commentaries, ed. by Henry Chadwick. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), p. 106.

[2] The Synoptic Gospels (second edition; London: Macmillan and Co., 1927), II, p. 386.

[3] An Introduction to New Testament Thought (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), p. 278.

circles. Through Christian interpretation the role of the Baptist was subordinated to the role and ministry of Jesus.[4]

It may be that, as Grant maintained, John himself used this citation from Scripture with reference to his own role. That John expected the imminent coming of Yahweh himself is questionable; rather it would seem from the material at hand that he expected God's Messiah.[5] The Messiah himself, as John foretold, would not be a nationalistic figure, but a prophetic-eschatological figure. In him would be embodied and expressed the judgement and power of Yahweh, but he would not be Yahweh himself. John, therefore, exhorted his hearers to prepare for His coming, by repenting of their sins and being baptized as a sign of their repentance. His proclamation, concerning this prophetical-eschatological figure, was necessarily ethical in tone. His call was to repentance,[6] both with respect to others[7] and to oneself.[8] His role was that of the forerunner, who was sent to exhort all Israelites to prepare the way for the Messiah by inner, ethical repentance. This emphasis is clearly seen in the citation as it appears in Luke and Matthew.

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[4]This hypothesis is rendered plausible by a careful comparison and contrast of the relationship of the Baptist to Jesus as it appears in the Synoptic and Johannine traditions.

[5]Luke 3:16, 17; Matthew 3:11, 12.

[6]Matthew 3:2 // Luke 3:3

[7]Matthew 3:7-11 // Luke 3:7-14

[8]Matthew 3:11, 14 // Luke 3:16

The shift in the estimate of the role of John and the purpose of his preaching may be observed in Matthew and John especially, and at a more advanced stage in Mark's account. Luke, who quotes most extensively from Second Isaiah, lays great stress on repentance, which constitutes "preparation."

> . . . the word of God came to John the son of Zechariah in the wilderness; and he went out into all the region about the Jordan, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. As it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet, . . .[9]

Then follows the citation, after which Luke summarizes John's preaching in the most extensive extant form. Only then does he proceed to present the portrait of the Coming One, whose work is characterized by judgement. Matthew's treatment of the same material is marked by several differences. Matthew has no equivalent for the detailed exhortation of Luke 3:10-14. The demand for fruit that befits repentance and the emphasis on the severe judgement of the Coming One remains, but another note appears: the emphasis upon the person, rather than the teaching, of John the Baptist. In Matthew 3:1 it is stated that "John the Baptist came preaching," and in 3:3 it is stated that "this is he who was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah when he said, . . .". In addition, the emphasis on the person of John is supported by the physical description of John, which is found

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[9]Luke 3:2b-4a

[10]Matthew 3:7-10 // Luke 3:7-9; Matthew 3:11-12 // Luke 3:15-17.

in Matthew and Mark, but not in Luke. The emphasis on the person and purpose of John finds its most emphatic expression in the Gospel of John. His purpose and mission was clearly that of giving a "testimony, to bear witness to the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but came to bear witness to the light."[11] The dialogue between John and the religious authorities[12] has but one purpose in the Gospel of John: to show whom John is not, and, conversely, to show whom Jesus is. In other words, the emphasis is upon the person and mission of both the Baptist and Jesus. John is the witness who affirms that "this is the Son of God."[13]

This difference in emphasis is clearest in the Gospel of Mark. John is clearly the messenger who precedes the coming of "the Lord, whom ye seek," Yahweh himself. Only it was not Yahweh in his glory, but Yahweh in the person of Jesus, the Son of God. The context in Mark shows clearly this understanding. All details of John's preaching have been omitted. The description of John, so similar to that of Elijah, is present. Mark, after announcing the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, cites the authoritative scriptures; following these citations is the description of John the Baptist and his announcement of the coming Mighty One. Then Mark relates the beginning of the fulfillment of

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[11]John 1:7-8

[12]John 1:19-28

[13]John 1:34

John's prophecy, culminating in the Baptism and God's asservation, "Thou are my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased."[14] In His Son, Yahweh has made His own appearance, for the father is present in power in his son.

It is significant to note that in Mark, and to some extent in John and Matthew, the stress in the quotation from Second Isaiah is not upon "prepare ye the way" as in Luke but rather upon the words "of the Lord, make his paths straight." It is the person of Jesus which has taken over the emphasis. John is the forerunner of the "Lord." This is reinforced by the citation from Malachi 3:1 and by the presence of αὐτοῦ in the New Testament text.

With regard to the first there is considerable controversy. What is the origin of the citation? Several scholars consider the quotation to have been taken from a collection of testimonia;[15] others suggest that the citation is an insertion by a later scribe after the Gospel was written.[16] The first view is based upon the mistake in

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[14]Mark 1:11

[15]H. B. Swete, The Gospel According to St. Mark (third edition; London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1927), p. 2. James Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament. In the International Theological Library (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), p. 231.

[16]B. Harvie Branscomb, The Gospel of Mark. In The Moffatt New Testament Commentary Series, ed. James Moffatt (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, [n. d.]), p. 9. F. C. Grant, "The Gospel According to St. Mark (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. VII, George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., editors (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1951), p. 648. A. T. Cadoux, The Sources of the Second Gospel (New York: The

the citation formula, and stands or falls depending on the validity of the "testimony hypothesis." The present writer rejects the validity of this hypothesis, which is discussed in the penultimate chapter of this paper. The second, that it was an insertion, is based on the evidence (1) that the Isaiah and Malachi citations represent different versions, (2) that the Malachi quotation is not from the LXX, (3) that Matthew and Luke omit the citation, and (4) that the citation occurs in almost identical form elsewhere in Q. However, assuming that Mark knew Q, it may be suggested he may have drawn this citation from that source. The fact that the Isaiah and Malachi quotation represent different translation sources is not conclusive. Matthew and Luke do not have the citation in this place, but do have the same citation elsewhere.[17] This is made even more likely by the fact that the context in these passages in Matthew and Luke displays the same understanding of John's role as we find in the first chapter of Mark. The citations would in this case be neither an insertion nor a selection from a testimonia, but the result of Markan authorship.[18] This inference is not disproved by

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Macmillan Company, [n. d.]), p. 137. Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1952), p. 153. A. E. J. Rawlinson, St. Mark. In the Westminister Commentaries, ed. by Walter Lock and D. C. Simpson (sixth edition; London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1947), p. 5.

[17] Matthew 11:9-11; Luke 7:26-28.

[18] So Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke. In The International Critical Commentary (fourth edition; Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1908), p. 2. Allan Menzies, The Earliest Gospel: A Historical Study of the Gospel According to Mark (London: The Macmillan Company Ltd., 1901), p. 58. A. M. Hunter, The

the error in the citation formula. Without a doubt, the correct reading is that which attributes both citations to Isaiah. How could it be that Mark could make such an error in his citation? Plummer has suggested that the error was due either to a lapse of memory or a testimony.[19] Of the two, the most likely is the first, and such a mistake would not be remarkable. G. J. Paul makes some pertinent remarks concerning the difficulty of checking scriptural quotations, and cites a similar mistake by Justin Martyr, by whom this same passage from Malachi was attributed to Zechariah.[20] If Mark was working with traditional material, it would not have been difficult for him to neglect to change the citation formula after he had inserted the passage from Malachi.

Now that we have recognized this emphasis upon the person of Jesus, especially in reference to the title "Lord," let us turn to an examination of this word in the context of the Isaiah citation

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Gospel According to St. Mark. In the Torch Bible Commentaries, gen. eds. John Marsh, Alan Richardson, R. Gregor Smith (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1948), p. 26. C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to St. Mark. In the Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary series, ed. C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1959), p. 39. I. Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Second Series (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1924), p. 28. G. J. Paul, The Gospel According to Saint Mark: Introduction and Commentary. No. 13 in The Christian Students' Library. Published for the Senate of Serampore by the Christian Literature Society (Mysore City, India: The Wesley Press, 1957), p. 57. B. W. Bacon, in his book, The Gospel of Mark: Its Composition and Date (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p. 155f., maintained that Mark took the citation from Q, a plausible inference.

[19]Plummer, loc. cit.

[20]Paul, loc. cit.

and the evangelical tradition. Certainly the meaning of the title for John the Baptist was "Messiah," as we can determine from the passages already considered. However, many scholars maintain that the same meaning may be attributed to the Synoptic writers and John, and even to the tradition before them.[21] Several observations must be made concerning this view. First, the title "Messiah" could not for the early Christians and the gospel writers have the same meaning as it may have had for John the Baptist. Jesus as the Messiah was a different person than the Messiah expected by John the Baptist. Not only were his methods different, but his mission was different. Even assuming this modification of meaning, it should be noted that nothing in the context of the gospels which stresses the person of the "Lord" necessitates the motif of the Messiah; rather, if another title must be chosen as a related motif, it should be the title "Son of God," as noted above.

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[21]Plummer, loc. cit. Hunter, loc. cit. Menzies, op. cit., p. 58 f. S. MacLean Gilmour, "The Gospel According to St. Luke (Introduction and Exegesis)" in The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. VIII, George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., editors (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1952), p. 71. D. Wilhelm Michaelis, Das Evangelium nach Matthaeus. In Schweizerisches Bibelwerk fuer die Gemeinde series (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1948), I, p. 115. T. H. Robinson, The Gospel of Matthew. In The Moffatt New Testament Commentary series (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co. Inc., 1928), p. 13. Montefiori, op. cit., p. 7. F. F. von Edelsheim, Das Evangelion nach Markos: Psychologisch dargestellt (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer Verlag, 1931), p. 29 ff. Josef Schmid, Das Evangelium nach Matthaeus. In Das Neue Testament, eds. Alfred Wikenhauser and Otto Russ (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1952), p. 15 f. W. F. Arndt, The Gospel According to St. Luke. In the Bible Commentary (Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), p. 108.

In the light of these considerations, it is unlikely that the title "Lord" had the connotation "Messiah."

A second group of scholars assert that the title "Lord" denotes Yahweh himself. [22] This interpretation cannot be taken at face value, however; what is intended is that in Jesus of Nazareth Yahweh makes His fullest appearance "in the flesh."

A third group of scholars combined the above two views: in this passage it is the coming of God in the Messiah which is intended.[23] This view is perhaps the best of the three, except that it might be desirable to drop the title Messiah and to seek to express the insight in another way, for the reasons discussed above.

The best method would be to refrain from using a non-contextual title, and to turn to the title "Lord" in order to see if this term

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[22] J. A. Alexander, The Gospel According to Matthew (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864), p. 51. J. P. Lange, The Gospel According to Matthew. Trans. from the Third German edition by Philip Schaff (sixth edition; New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1866), p. 70. A. J. Maas, The Gospel According to St. Matthew with an Exegetical and Critical Commentary (second edition; St. Louis: B. Herder, 1916), p. 32. A. W. Blunt, The Gospel According to Saint Mark. In The Clarendon Bible, ed. Thomas Oxon, Herbert Wild, George H. Box (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 134.

[23] H. A. W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Part I: The Gospel of Matthew. Trans. William P. Dickson, et. al. (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1877), I, p. 106. Bernhard Weiss, Das Matthaeus-Evangelium. In Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, ed. Wilhelm Meyer (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1898), p. 60. F. Godet, A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke. Trans. by E. W. Shalders from the Second French Edition. In Clark's Foreign Theological Library, Fourth Series, Vol. XLV (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1875), I, p. 173.

itself carries inherent significance. To be sure, in Second Isaiah and elsewhere in the Old Testament the term denotes the mighty power and sovereignty of Yahweh. The Greek word κύριος and the Hebrew words אדון and יהוה indicate one-sided sovereignty and overwhelming power.[24] Does this connotation remain when used in reference to Jesus? It will be maintained in this paper that this is precisely the case. Although such an understanding is not explicit in this passage, we shall see that it is explicit elsewhere in the New Testament documents. Considering the emphasis placed upon the persons of John the Baptist and of Jesus, especially in Mark and John, such an interpretation reasonably may be considered to lie behind this citation from Second Isaiah. The questions concerning whether this identification is taken from Second Isaiah or when this identification was made must remain for a later discussion. For our present purposes, we may take the term "Lord" at its full significance, denoting sovereignty and power, even in reference to Jesus. As both Rawlinson and Cranfield point out, the title κύριος in Mark's mind was already a title for

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[24]For a fine discussion of the Greek term see C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1954), p. 8-11; Werner Foerster and Gottfried Quell, "I. Lord," Bible Key Words, Vol. II, trans. by J. R. Coates and H. P. Kingdon from Gerhard Kittle's Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament, New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1958. With reference to the Hebrew term see Johannes Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1954), I-II, p. 63.

Jesus.[25] In other words, "Markus setzt ein Christusverstaendnis voraus, wie es Phil. 2, 6-11 bezeugt ist."[26] The term did not cease to be used for Yahweh; rather it denoted the sovereignty of Yahweh which was bestowed upon Christ. In the sense that the sovereignty of Yahweh has been and is now made manifest in the sovereignty of Christ, the coming of God did take place in the coming of Christ.

It should be noted that this is Christian interpretation, and not that of John the Baptist. This interpretation is present in Mark, Matthew and John, and apparently in the tradition before them. Judging from the infancy narratives of Luke, it was not absent from the Lukan tradition. If this understanding receives support from the Pauline writings, and even the Apocalypse, then the assumption may be made that the interpretation arose extremely early in the Christian tradition. In addition, we should note that it is Luke who modified his tradition, rather than the other Gospel writers who modified theirs.

When this New Testament usage of the term κύριος is compared with Second Isaiah, it will become clear that the non-Lukan writings are much closer to the Isaianic context. The call in

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[25] A. E. J. Rawlinson, St. Mark. In the Westminister Commentaries, ed. by Walter Lock and D. C. Simpson (sixth edition; London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1947), pp. ii, 6. Cranfield, The Gospel According to St. Mark, op. cit., p. 40.

[26] Walter Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus. Vol. II in Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. by D. Erich Fascher (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1959), p. 26. "Mark presupposes an understanding of Christ like that which is attested in Phillipians 2:6-11."

Isaiah is not to radical repentance and preparation; rather, the proclamation presents the comforting, conquering, and transforming power and sovereignty of God which is to be made manifest.[27] This is precisely the Christian kerygma concerning the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth.

Since the analysis of this quotation has been somewhat extensive, it may be well to summarize the conclusions at which it has arrived.

1. Undoubtedly the Synoptic citations, and possibly that of John, follow the LXX tradition. Luke demonstrably follows the tradition of Alexandrinus.

2. The citation appeared extremely early in the Christian tradition as a part of Christian apologetic, perhaps assimilated from the followers of John the Baptist.

3. Luke, in his treatment, emphasized the ethical preaching of John the Baptist and the portion of the citation dealing with "preparation." Little stress was laid either upon the person of John the Baptist or of Jesus.

4. Matthew retained in part this ethical preaching material, but also partially emphasized the significance of the person of

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[27] To specifically cite the passages is hopeless. Practically the whole of Chapters 40-55 speaks of the overwhelming power and sovereignty of "the Lord," either in reference to the comforting of Israel, e.g., 40:1-2, 40:9-11, 40:27-31, to the regulation of the natural order, e.g., 40:21-26, 40:12-17, and its renewal, e.g., 41:17-20, or in justaposition to the idols, e.g., 40:18-20, 41:21-24, 44:9-20.

John the Baptist, as noted in the manner in which he modified and omitted material.

5. Mark and John put complete emphasis upon the persons of John the Baptist and Jesus. For John and Mark, Jesus of Nazareth was none other than "Lord." For Mark, John the Baptist was the forerunner of the "Lord," regarded perhaps as Elijah; for the Fourth Gospel writer, John the Baptist was nothing but "a voice in the wilderness." The Fourth Evangelist, who put the citation upon the lips of John the Baptist, completed a shift in emphasis and significance. Likewise, Mark, by combining the Isaiah citation and the Malachi citation, found elsewhere in Q, strongly fortified his interpretation in line with his purpose. In any case, the significant term in the citation for all, other than Luke, is the term "Lord."

6. After close examination, it was concluded that none of the proposed interpretations of "Lord" are completely satisfactory, and that the best procedure is to find the meaning inherent in the word. It was concluded that the term "Lord" connoted the full sovereignty and power of Yahweh in Second Isaiah, and that the term lost none of its meaning with reference to Jesus. Rather, the New Testament interpretation is but the continuation and embodiment of this dominant motif in Second Isaiah.

7. This paper maintains that this usage of the term "Lord," though implicit in this passage, is explicit elsewhere in the New Testament. If proven, this contention would support an extremely early date for the usage of this title with regard to Jesus.

Isaiah 40:6-8 /// I Peter 1:24-25

MT:

6 קוֹל אֹמֵר[a] קְרָא וְאָמַר[b] מָה אֶקְרָא
כָּל־הַבָּשָׂר[c] חָצִיר וְכָל־חַסְדּוֹ[e] כְּצִיץ[d] הַשָּׂדֶה׃
7 יָבֵשׁ חָצִיר נָבֵל צִיץ[f] כִּי רוּחַ יְהוָה נָשְׁבָה בּוֹ
אָבֵן חָצִיר הָעָם׃
8 יָבֵשׁ חָצִיר נָבֵל צִיץ[f] וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם׃

[a] IQIs[a] אומר [b] IQIs[a] ואומרה [c] IQIs[a] כול
[d] IQIs[a] וכול [e] IQIs[a] חסדיו
[f-f] IQIs[a] autograph omits כי רוח .... נשבה בוא חציר העם and the phrase יבש חציר נבל ציץ ; the former was inserted interlinearly by the original scribe, the latter phrase plus the words ודבר אלוהינו, were added in the margin by a later hand

LXX:

6 φωνὴ[a] λέγοντος[b] βόησον
καὶ εἶπα[c] τί βόησω
πᾶσα[d] σὰρξ χόρτος[e]
καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου[f] ὡς ἄνθος[g] χόρτου[h]
7 ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν[h]
8 τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα[i] τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν[i] μένεις εἰς τον αἰῶνα

[a] Syp[b] omits φωνη [b] 534 βοῶντος λεγων; Syp[a] adds μοι
[c] L''-233 Just Tht read ειπον [d] 538 preceded by οτι
[e] 147 χορτον; 36-46 CII Bo Syp[abclim] ως χορτος
[f] Orig Cypr αυτης [g] 456 Sa Syh Syp αυτου
[h] V-OII L''-46-456 403' 538 Syp[abclim] Eus Tht (※ 22-48-231-96) οτι (Syp[b] omits) πνευμα κυριου επνευσεν εις αυτο (τον LI 613 Tht) αληθως (Syp[a] οτι αλη.; OII adds γαρ) ομοιος χορτω ο (LII omits) λαος εξηρανθη ο χορτος (L'-46-456 538 Tht adds και) το (LII adds δε) ανθος (456 Syp adds αυτου) εξεπεσε (ν) (το α./ εξεπ. transposed V-OII 403' 538 Syp[abclim] Eus Tht)

i-i L"-46-233-456 Cop Syp[a] Just Clem Tht Cypr κυριου; 88 538 κυριου του θεου ημων; Q 564-566 198 Cyr[Clem] omit ημων

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

6 βόησον) α΄ καλεσον Chr
χορτος) α΄ πρασον 86
και πασα δοξα ανθρ.) α΄σ΄θ΄ και παν το ελεος αυτης 86 Chr
fin) α΄σ΄θ΄86 ; θ΄ Hi ℵ οτι πνευμα κυριου επνευσεν
εις αυτον(-το Q) αληθως χορτος ο λαος εξηρανθη
7 ο (Q omits) χορτος εξεπεσε το ανθος Q 86 Eus
Pr Hi[lat] ; α΄ πρασον ο λαος εξηρανθη πρασον
απερρευσεν ανθος Pr
8 σ΄ ο δε λογος του θεου ημων στησεται εις τον αιωνα Eus

I Peter 1:24-25 CF: "for"

24 διότι

πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς[a] χόρτος

καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς[b] ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου

ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος

καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν

25 τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

[a] A al omit [b] ℵ* αυτου; P Koine al ανθρωπου

In this instance, the relationship of the New Testament text to that of the LXX and the MT is difficult to ascertain. This difficulty does not concern particularly the N. T. variants. Of these, the two variants concerning αὐτῆς are insignificant,[1]

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[1] The reading of P Koine, and other MSS is an obvious assimilation to the LXX. The original hand of Aleph seems to have unintentionally altered αὐτῆς to conform to the gender of χόρτος instead of σάρξ, an error which apparently was corrected by the διορθώτης.

and the variant reading of A concerning ὡς may either be regarded as an assimilation to the LXX or as a more primitive reading reflecting the Hebrew text.

The difficulty lies in the fact that the N. T. text may be identified neither with the LXX nor with the MT. The N. T. agrees with the MT against the LXX in the rendering δόξα αὐτῆς instead of δόξα ἀνθρώπου, preserving literally the phraseology of the MT rather than translating interpretatively. On the other hand, the N. T. agrees with the LXX in rendering כְּצִיץ חָצִיר by ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου, and in omitting verse 7 of the Hebrew.[2] The most significant variation, however, is to be found in the last line, where the N. T. reads κυρίου, the LXX τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν and the MT אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Clearly the LXX presents the normal equivalent for the Hebrew.[3] Then how may the N. T. reading be explained? On the one hand, the rendering may be taken to indicate a different Hebrew text, one in which the divine name יהוה stood in the place of אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Reading the vowels of אֲדֹנָי, the name was translated with κύριος. Since it is unlikely that the divine name would be given the first person plural personal suffix, the name would stand alone. This would provide the basis for the N. T. reading, and also for the

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[2]It may be argued that the N. T. text may have had the omitted verse, but that it was dropped because it was unessential. This is not impossible. However, considering the affinities elsewhere of the N. T. with the LXX, such a view is unlikely.

[3]So C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954), p. 5.

omission of ἡμῶν by Codex Q of the LXX.[4] On the other hand, the N. T. rendering may be taken as an interpretative alteration arising from the ascription of the title κύριος to the Risen One. The most probable supposition is the first. However, it should be noted that this suggestion only accounts for the peculiar reading utilized by the New Testament writer; the term κύριος reflects the influence of Christian interpretation. Whether the first or the second alternative be accepted, in either case indications are present that this text was implemented and interpreted at an extremely early date in the Christian tradition. This tentative conclusion will receive added support from our further considerations.

E. G. Selwyn offers an excellent analysis of the context of this quotation.[5] Since the discussion here takes this analysis as its starting-point, a full discussion of the context is not essential. Instead, the discussion will focus on two aspects of the citation largely neglected by the standard commentaries. The author is concerned with the contrast between the impermanence of mortal life (σάρξ) and the permanence of the "new life"[6] which has been imparted

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[4]The preservation of τοῦ θεοῦ, as against κυρίου, makes assimilation to the N. T. unlikely.

[5]E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1946), pp. 149-152. See also F. J. A. Hort, The First Epistle of St. Peter: I. 1-II. 17 (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1898), pp. 86-96, and F. W. Beare, The First Epistle of Peter (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947), pp. 83-86.

[6]1:3; 1:23

to his readers by the grace of God.[7] This "imperishable, undefiled, and unfading" inheritance[8] is imparted through τὸ...ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα . This phrase, taken from the last line of our citation, will receive our attention; the terms "Lord" and "word" will be noted especially.

Concerning κυρίου, Hort commented,

> The substitution of κυρίου for τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν hardly affects the sense. Κυρίου without the article must be taken, as in most cases, for Jehovah, i. e. the God of Israel, "our God."[9]

Contrary to Hort's opinion, the appearance of κύριος does affect the sense, and the word must be taken, not for Yahweh, but for the Risen Christ. The absence of the article by no means indicates that Yahweh is intended in this instance; the title is clearly applied to Jesus in Philippians 2:11 where the term appears without the article. Even more important is the usage of this title in I Peter. At no place is God referred to by κύριος, but always by θεός. He is the Father, both of the Christians[10] and "of our Lord Jesus Christ."[11] He is the source of mercy[12] and of grace,[13] and is the "holy one" who requires his people to be holy.[14] He wills and approves of doing right,[15] especially of enduring

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[7] 5:10; also 1:3,5,13; 2:10

[8] 1:4

[9] Hort, op. cit., p. 96.

[10] 1:2,17

[11] 1:3

[12] 1:3; 2:10

[13] 4:10; 5:10

[14] 1:15-16

[15] 2:15; 4:2,19

patiently unjust suffering,[16] by which He is glorified.[17] He is thus the object of spiritual worship.[18] He is the judge with whom all men must reckon in the last day,[19] and thus is to be feared.[20] He is the source of salvation by His raising of Jesus from the dead,[21] and He will watch over his own, extending his protective power over them.[22] Except in regard to His judgeship, at no time are the prerogatives of "lordship" ascribed to Him. These, on the contrary, have been conferred upon the Risen Christ. God provides the source and ground of all created things; in the words of the author He is "a faithful creator."[23]

The Risen One, however, in two especially important passages, is explicitly κύριος. The authority and dominion of the Risen One is clearly that of the "Lord" in the phrase, ". . .Jesus Christ, who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him."[24] In the same chapter, the author quotes these words from Psalm 34:12-16, and interprets the citation in the following verses.

> 'He that would love life and see good days,
> let him keep his tongue from evil
> and his lips from speaking guile;
> let him turn away from evil and do right;

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[16] 2:19,20; 3:17; 4:16,19

[17] 2:12; 4:11,16

[18] 1:4

[19] 1:17

[20] 1:17; 2:17

[21] 1:21

[22] 1:5; 5:6,7,10

[23] 4:19

[24] 4:21-22

let him seek peace and pursue it.
For the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous,
and his ears are open to their prayer.
But the face of the Lord is against those that do evil.'

Now who is there to harm you if you are zealous for what is right? But even if you do suffer for righteousness' sake, you will be blessed. Have no fear of them, nor be troubled, but in your hearts reverence Christ as Lord.[25]

This last sentence is a free citiation of Isaiah 8:12-13, where the LXX reads Κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε, rendering אֶת־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֹתוֹ תַקְדִּישׁוּ. The author of I Peter has clearly adapted the LXX reading to κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε , thus making the Risen One the referent. The application of this title to Christ could be no more explicit! Upon the basis of this identification, the citation from Psalm 34:12-16 receives its full meaning, as do the phrases "our Lord Jesus Christ,"[26] "the kindness of the Lord,"[27] "for the Lord's sake,"[28] and the phrase in the citation now under scrutiny.

Our examination of ῥῆμα need not detain us so long. E. G. Selwyn maintains that the terms ῥῆμα and λόγος are not equivalents. "For in N. T. usage the λόγος is more than the ῥῆμα ; it is the ῥῆμα, the promise of Jehovah, fulfilled and therefore (verse 25) preached . . ."[29] Selwyn is correct in the statement which follows, that ". . . λόγος . . .was taken up into the quasi-technical vocabulary which was forged in the primitive Church,"[30] but for the former premise he gives no convincing evidence.

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[25] 3:10-15 [26] 1:3

[27] 2:3 [28] 2:13

[29] Selwyn, op. cit., p. 152. [30] Selwyn, ibid.

Hort, agreeing with Selwyn that the terms are not equivalent, finds yet another distinction.

> The difference of these words is fundamentally this, that ῥῆμα is the concrete expression of λόγος. λόγος is speech in relation to the speaker, and so to the meaning in his mind which he wishes to convey; ῥῆμα is the definite articulate word or words as uttered by the tongue or written by the pen. . . . In relation to the birth into a new life St. Peter uses that term which carries us nearest to the original Divine source, and most nearly stands for God Himself speaking: on the other hand, in v. 25 he is able to adopt ῥῆμα with the greater fitness because it well suits the Gospel message as a definite expression, and as the most definite expression, of the one abiding Word of God.[31]

Hort is here defining the terms in the light of Hellenistic usage; his analysis fails when tested against the standards of Biblical usage.

Actually, in many respects the two terms are equivalent.[32] Both may be used to indicate, not a thought or an expression of thought, but an event. Both may be used with reference to specific words, phrases, or proclamations. The term λόγος apparently was more compatible with Greek thought, a fact which accounts for the dominant usage of the term in the latter sections of the LXX translation of the Old Testament.[33] For the same reason, as the

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[31]Hort, op. cit., p. 96.

[32]See the definitions of the terms in W. F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 742-743; 478-480.

[33]So E. Repo, Der Begriff Rhema im Bibelgriechischen, Part I: Rhema in der LXX (Helsinki, 1951).

Christian message was proclaimed among the Gentiles the term was increasingly used; as already noted, it became a quasi-technical term in the vocabulary of the primitive Church. In time, it took on the full meaning which we find in the Logos conception of the Fourth Gospel. However, we must be careful not to interpret earlier usage by this developing usage of the term. In the New Testament, and especially in the Acts of the Apostles,[34] the term λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is used to indicate the total event of God's action in the life, ministry, death, resurrection, and exaltation of Jesus of Nazareth.

In particular contexts, the term ῥῆμα also is used to indicate events closely identified with the action of Yahweh. In this usage, the term ῥῆμα, as well as λόγος, conveys this aspect of the Hebrew דָּבָר. The term ῥῆμα is used in this way not only in the citation before us, which helps to set the theme of the whole work of Second Isaiah, but it is used also in Isaiah 55, which furnishes the climax of this work.[35] In these instances, the term refers not just to a concrete vocal utterance, but to the mighty deliverance and its attendant signs and wonders which Yahweh had determined to do. Thus ῥῆμα indicates the overwhelming projection of the will and purpose of Yahweh, expressed by the prophet, which was being inexonerably actualized in historical events--past, present, and

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[34]See Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 479.

[35]It is possible that the term σποράς in I Peter 1:23 is a reflection of the influence of Isaiah 55:10. If so, the whole of chapter 55, including the motif of the "word," is deeply embedded in Christian tradition.

future. This usage of ῥῆμα with regard to events reflecting the will of Yahweh is continued by New Testament authors. In Luke 2:15, Luke relates how the shepherds, after receiving the message from the angels concerning the birth of Christ, said to each other, "Let us go over to Bethlehem and see this thing(τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο)that has happened, which the Lord has made known to us." In Acts 10:37, Peter in his sermon to Cornelius says,

> You know the word (τὸν λόγον) which he sent to Israel, preaching good news of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all), the word (τὸ...ῥῆμα) which was proclaimed throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached: . . .

In this verse, the two terms seem to stand in a parallel relation to each other. Not only does the latter include the words and deeds of Jesus, but both signify as well the total event of Jesus Christ the Lord as proclaimed by the Christian heralds. In other words, ῥῆμα , as well as λόγος, stands for the Christian κήρυγμα and διδαχήconsidered as one entity. This is the "good news" to which the author of I Peter refers, and which is explicitly reflected throughout the epistle.[36] On the basis of these considerations,

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[36]Jesus Christ, whose Spirit spoke through the prophets concerning His sufferings and subsequent glory (1:11), destined before the foundation of the world, was made manifest at the end of the times (1:20). After suffering innocently (2:22; 3:18; also 4:1), thus providing ransom by his blood for all who follow in his steps (1:18,19; 2:21-25; 3:18), he was given glory and lordship by God through the resurrection from the dead (1:21; 3:21-22). As such he is to be obeyed (1:2), and is the object of love and belief (1:8). All those who are "in Christ" (5:14) are born anew to a living hope through his resurrection (1:3; 3:21), and will share with Him in His glory when He is revealed at the last day (1:7,13; 4:13; 5:1,4). Though this by no means exhausts the thoughts of the author, the motifs are clearly those of the κήρυγμα.

the phrase should be understood to mean "the proclamation concerning the Risen Lord." If this is the case, then the term τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου refers to the total event of Jesus the Christ, his words, deeds, death, and resurrection. The possibility does exist that the term τὸ ῥῆμα refers not to the total gospel message but to a particular or specific part of it. This possibility will be explored and evaluated in another place, after another citation from Second Isaiah is analysed.

Whether the meaning is general or specific, the phrase itself is of importance for our understanding of primitive Christian interpretation. Although I Peter may be considered by some to be relatively late in composition, the citation--together with its context and interpretation--appears to be traditional material, utilized by the author of the Epistle and perhaps modified in minor ways by him. The citation reflects a basic Christian understanding of the passage, and also its meaning and place within the Christian tradition.

Isaiah 40:13 /// Romans 11:34,35; I Corinthians 2:16

MT:

מִי־[a]תִכֵּן אֶת־רוּחַ יְהוָה
וְאִישׁ [b]עֲצָתוֹ יוֹדִיעֶנּוּ׃

[a]IQIs[a] מ׳א [b]IQIs[a]* omitted א׳ש, inserted by later hand

LXX:

τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου

καὶ[a] τίς [b]αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος [b] ἐγένετο ὃς[c] συμβιβᾷ[d] αὐτόν[e]

[a]26 V 51[c] C' 403 407 538 Bo Syp Clem Hi η
[b-b] ℵ 26-86-106 O'-88 L"[-96]-46-233 C' 198 239 407 410 538 Eus Tht transpose; 96 omits αὐτοῦ [c]564 ω
[d]ℵ [ca]A' V-Q[mg]-88-OII 22[c]-51[c]-90-36-93-233 C'-566 198 393 403' 407 410 449 534 538 544 Just Tht Cyr[lem] συμβιβασει
[e]OII 147 564 αυτω

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

α΄ (τις) εσταθμησατο πνευμα κυριου 86σ΄ quis paravit spiritu domini et vivum consilii eius quis ostendit ei Hi ; θ΄ και ανηρ βουλην αυτου και εγνωρισεν αυτου 86

Romans 11:34,35 CF: possibly "for"

34 τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου

ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο

35 ἢ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ

I Corinthians 2:16 CF: possibly "for"

τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν
ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ[a] ἔχομεν

[a]B D* G it κυριου

Even though the LXX agrees basically with the MT,[1] the New Testament citations from Isaiah clearly follow the LXX, especially the reading of Alexandrinus. This relationship is established by the retention in the N. T. of both LXX variants found in A.

The question concerning the source of Romans 11:35 is much more difficult, and may be approached by way of two related questions: "What is the origin of the form of the text as we have it in the N. T.?," and "To whom do we owe the combination of the citation from Isaiah and the other citation?" Let us approach the first question. Most scholars would take the second citation as a non-Septuagintal rendering of Job 41:3.[2] The presence of the verse after Isaiah 40:14 is taken to be a scribal insertion, which sought to conform the LXX text to the

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[1]The LXX appears to read a second interrogative particle before the second clause, unlike the MT. This may be but an interpretative rendering, however.

[2]e.g., E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 14, n. 2; Hans Lietzmann, Die Vier Hauptbriefe, Part I in Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus, Volume III in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), p. 60; Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew (Uppsala, 1954), p. 173. Stendahl argues that the difference in form indicates an insertion. This does not follow; it may only indicate a different version in Paul's hands.

N. T. text.[3] The interposition of verse 14 gives some support to this contention; however, the evidence is not conclusive, for even in this citation Paul or his source quotes selectively from the Old Testament Scripture. Although the other MSS authorities, the MT, and the Qumran scrolls oppose this reading, their witness does not make impossible the contrary reading in the version being used by Paul or his source. It is true that the phrases under consideration are not related intrinsically to verses 13 and 14, but they could have some definite relation to verses 15 through 17 in Isaiah. The possibility is present that this saying is not taken from Job 41:3, but that it stood in the text of Isaiah used by Paul. This possibility is supported somewhat by the N. T. fidelity to A, and by the variant in the LXX within the saying itself.[4] No conclusive answer may be given to this particular question.

Whether the source of the citation be regarded as a variant version of the text of Isaiah or an independent rendering of the Hebrew, the question still remains, "Who combined the two quotations?" The general tendency is to regard the combination as the work of Paul, a view usually based on the divergent form of the citation discussed above. Is it possible that the citations were already fused before Paul, and that Paul received them in this form? This would account for the independent translation

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[3] Ellis, loc. cit., Stendahl, loc. cit.

[4] A reads ἀνταποδωθήσεται while Aleph* and the N. T. read ἀνταποδοθήσεται. This might be regarded as a scribal error, however.

or divergent version; this view is also supported by the traditional and cultic note of the preceding and following phrases. We shall see that Paul's usage of the Isaiah citation makes this suggestion likely.

Of greater importance than these considerations is the specific usage of the Isaiah citation by Paul in Romans and I Corinthians. We have the rare opportunity of observing how the same author might use the same citation in two different contexts.

In the context in Romans Paul has been struggling to expound the reason for the disbelief of the Jews concerning Christ. To them had been given the promises, the gifts, and the call by God; these promises and this call is irrevocable. Therefore, Paul concludes, their hearts have been hardened in order that the gospel might be preached to the Gentiles first, then Israel would believe. Forming the conclusion to the profound exposition of the preceding chapters, the insight into God's mighty power and wisdom almost overwhelms Paul. This hymnic affirmation issues from his sense of wonder. The first verse, in which Michel finds two Hellenistic literary forms,[5] expresses his profound sense of the "riches" and "wisdom" and "knowledge" of God. Following this verse, and related to it, are the citations from the Old Testament. Then follows a series of cultic phrases, regarded by Michel as a Jewish

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[5]Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, Tenth Edition (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), p. 248.

prayer-form,[6] which rounds out this "solemn shout of joy."[7]

In this usage, the νοῦν κυρίου refers directly to God, and it is to God that the closing doxology is directed. His ways are inscrutable, and His thoughts unfathomable. This does not mean that He may not be known. Rather, He sends His Spirit to reveal His will and to work that which is good; this is clearly expressed in I Corinthians 2:16.

Another point should be noted. In his commentary on Second Isaiah, James Muilenburg notes the emphasis on the "mind" of the Lord in the LXX, where in the Hebrew it is the "Spirit" (רוּחַ) which receives emphasis.[8] In the passage before us, the emphasis of the LXX is clearly continued. Some years ago, H. A. W. Meyer pointed out the relationship between the citations and the preceding verse: νοῦν refers to γνώσεως, σύμβουλος to σοφίας, and τίς προέδωκεν is the negation of πλούτου.[9] This relationship, added to the Hellenistic style of the preceding verse, the unique second citation, and the liturgical quality of

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[6] Michel, loc. cit.

[7] Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 60: "ein feierlicher Jubelruf"

[8] James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in Vol. V of The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 436-437.

[9] H. A. W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans, Part IV in a Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1881), Vol. II trans. from the Fifth German Edition by John C. Moore and Edwin Johnson, p. 246.

verse 36, supports the possibility that the section is not original with Paul, but taken from a Christian formulation or his Jewish background. This suggestion receives added support from a consideration of I Corinthians 2:16.

In this second context the quotation is used in a differing way. The citation does not stand in a hymnic context, but arises normally out of the discussion at hand. Paul was seeking to combat the divisive tendencies at work among the Corinthians; apparently various factions had arisen at Corinth, at least some of which depreciated the work of Paul because of the lack of "wisdom" in his preaching. Paul bases both his appeal for unity and his claim to true wisdom on the Spirit and its presence in those "in Christ." All should experience a common unity in Christ,[10] a unity derived not from the "wisdom of the world" but from the common Spirit within them.[11] This Spirit gives true wisdom--the wisdom of God--and reveals unto the spiritual the mysteries of God. Through this Spirit God has made known that which He has prepared for His sons.[12] This Spirit searches everything, even "the depths of God" Himself.[13] Only the Spirit comprehends the thoughts of God, and only the Spirit can bestow understanding to men.[14] This Spirit dwells in those who affirm "Jesus is Lord."[15] The presence or

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[10] 1:9,10

[11] 12:12-13

[12] 2:10

[13] 2:10

[14] 2:11-13

[15] 3:16; 12:3

absence of the Spirit determines whether a person lives or dies,[16] whether or not he is a son of God;[17] the Spirit itself intercedes on behalf of men.[18] Paul replies against this background to the charges brought against him and to the danger threatening the Corinthian church. He and all spirit-filled men, having the mind of Christ, are to be judged by no man, but only the Lord Jesus at His coming.[19] Since he shares in the Spirit of God, he shares in the immunity of God; since he shares in the Spirit of God, he is enabled to judge all things: "The spiritual man judges all things, but is himself to be judged by no one."[20] This then is the background and context of this passage from Isaiah: "For who has known the mind of the Lord?" Paul answers, "No one, to whom the Spirit has not been given; but we have the mind of Christ. Therefore, to us insight and divine wisdom have been given."

This emphasis on the Spirit of God (τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ) is of great significance for our understanding of Paul's usage of this citation. With regard to the Hebrew text of this citation, Muilenburg says, "It is doubtful, therefore, whether the divine intelligence is referred to here. God sends forth his Spirit as an active and life-giving force to do his work and achieve his purpose. 'Under prophetic influence (e.g., Isa. 30:1) the elements of will

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[16] Romans 8:1-11

[17] Romans 8:12-17

[18] Romans 8:26-27

[19] 4:5

[20] 2:15

and wisdom were included above all in the spirit of God.'"[21] The relevance of this understanding of the citation should become evident when the saying is considered in its context here, and when it is contrasted with Romans 11:34. Here, the primary emphasis is not on the divine intelligence, but upon the "active, life-giving force" at work in the lives of the Christians and accomplishing its purpose. Is it possible that here we have an authentic Pauline implementation of the passage from Isaiah, one which reflects accurately not the Greek but the Hebrew? Truly, the force at work is not the νοῦν κυρίου but the רוּחַ יְהוָה.

The identification of νοῦν κυρίου with νοῦν Χριστοῦ is of profound importance.[22] Not only is Christ again identified as κύριος, but He is explicitly identified with the term κύριος as the equivalent of Yahweh. The Spirit of Christ is the equivalent of the Spirit of Yahweh; both are able to reveal the deep things of God and to search out all things. What is more, the πνευματικοι are themselves in contact with, or even possessed by, this same

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[21] Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 437. The last sentence is quoted from Volz, Jesaia II, p. 9.

[22] Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in The International Critical Commentary, ed. by C. A. Briggs, S. R. Driver, and A. Plummer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 5, so maintain: "the immediate transition from νοῦν κυρίου to νοῦν Χριστοῦ as equivalent is full of deep significance. Cf. Wisd. 9:13; Ecclus. 1:6; Job 36:22,23,26; and see on Rom. 10:12,13."

Spirit.[23] The רוּחַ יְהוָה through the Risen One is thus actively at work in them. This identification assumes still greater importance by the manner in which it is presented: instead of arguing for the identification, Paul assumes it, and assumes that his readers will do likewise. The identification apparently was not the subject for discussion, but rather the presupposition for Paul's argument drawn from accepted tradition.

Briefly, the shift in interpretation should be noted in contrast to the citation as it appears in Isaiah and Romans. In both of those contexts, the passage clearly was used in reference to God alone, and the questions posed by the citation called for the answer, "No one." In this context, the answer is not "no one," but "Christ." It is He who knows and has known the Spirit of Yahweh. This shift in interpretation bears the definite imprint of Christian interpretation. The citation as used here could not be taken from a Jewish source, as is possible in Romans 11:34; it must of necessity be taken from the common stock of Christian exegesis.

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[23] Cf. Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, trans. William Montgomery (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), p. 297.

Isaiah 42:1-4

MT:

[1]הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמָךְ-בּוֹ בְּחִירִי רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי
נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו מִשְׁפָּט לַגּוֹיִם יוֹצִיא׃
[2]לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא וְלֹא-יַשְׁמִיעַ בַּחוּץ קוֹלוֹ׃
[3]קָנֶה רָצוּץ לֹא יִשְׁבּוֹר וּפִשְׁתָּה כֵהָה לֹא יְכַבֶּנָּה
לֶאֱמֶת[a] יוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט׃
[4]לֹא יִכְהֶה וְלֹא יָרוּץ[b] עַד-יָשִׂים בָּאָרֶץ מִשְׁפָּט
וְלְתוֹרָתוֹ אִיִּים יְיַחֵלוּ׃

[a]prps לֶאֱמוֹת [b]1 c MS^{P} Targum יָרוּץ

IQIs[a]:

[1]הנה עבדי אתמוכה בו בחירי רצתה נפשי
נתתי רוחי עליו ומשפט לגואים יוציא
[2]לוא יזעק ולוא ישא ולוא ישמיע בחוץ קולו
[3]קנה רצוץ לוא ישבור ופשתה כהה לוא יכבה
לאמת יוציא משפט
[4]ולוא יכהה ולוא ירוץ עד ישים בארץ משפט
ולתורתיו איים ינחילו

LXX:

[1][ab]Ιακωβ ὁ παῖς μου ἀντιλήμψομαι[c] αὐτοῦ
Ισραηλ[de] ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου[ef] προσεδέξατο αὐτον[f]
ἡ ψυχή μου

ἔδωκα[g] τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν
κρίσιν[h] τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει
2 οὐ κεκράξεται[i] οὐδὲ ἀνήσει[j]
οὐδὲ[k] ἀκουσθήσεται ἔξω[l] ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ[l m]
κάλαμον[n] τεθλασμένον[o] οὐ συντρίψει
3 καὶ λίνον[p] καπνιζόμενον[q] οὐ σβέσει
ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρίσιν
4 ἀναλήμψει[r] καὶ οὐ[s] θραυσθήσεται[t]
ἕως ἂν θῇ[u] ἐπὶ [v-]τῆς γῆς[v] κρίσιν
καὶ ἐπὶ[w] τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ[x-] ἔθνη[y] ἐλπιοῦσιν[xz]

[a] Q notes" εν τω εβρ΄ οθτε το ιακωβ ονομα ουτε το ισραηλ θερεται Q[mg] Syh[mg] Eus ; Q marks the word ÷ ; 88 ※ ÷
[b] 88 ※ ιδου; OII ιδου ; 106 και ιδου
[c] ℵ A-Q* B* 198 393 544 965 αντιλημψ.; rel. αντιληψ.;
51 αντιλαβουμαι [d] Q marks ÷ ; OII omit
[e-e] Bo omits [f-f] Just προσδεξεται αυτον
[g] 87 δεδωκα [h] Bo και κρισιν
[i] A′ only ου κραξεται; CI ου κραυγασει ου κεκραξ.; Bo ουκ ερισει
[j] 538 Cop βοησει; 534 ερισει; Syh ברו ב
[k] 239′ ουκ [l] 147 transposes εξω after αυτου
[m] 106 omits αυτου
[n] CI την καλ. την ιου δαιων ασθενειαν
[o] A′ V 311′-456 C′ 449′ 534 Eus Cyr read συντεθλασμ.; 93[c] τεθλα σμ.; 93* 410 958 Just τεθραυσμενον; 46 συντετριμμενον
[p] 534 λιβανον
[q] Just Cyr τυφομενον [r] CI -λαμπει; 88 407 Just -λμψει; 239′ ανακαμψει; Tht[lem] αναβλεψει; 311′-86[c] 393 και ανα.
[s] 377* omits ου
[t] B* 22-130 564 407 544 read θραυθησεται; 91 θλασθησεται; ℵ* σβεσθησεται
[u] 534 adds εις νικος [v-v] B* omits γῆς; Cyr[lem] omits της
[w] Q 311′ omit επι
[x-x] Just transposes [y] Cyr[lem] εθνη και λαοι
[z] Tert 582 Cypr credent

Aquila, Théodotion, Symmachus:

1 α΄ ιδου (ο) δουλος μου αντιληφομαι εν αυτω σ΄ ιδου ο δουλος (αλλοι δουλος Tht) μου ανθεξομαι αυτου ο εκλεκτος μου ον ευδοκησεν(α΄σ΄θ΄ευδ. Hes) η φυχη μου Eus θ΄ ιδου ο παις μου αντιλημψομαι (-ψεται Q) αυτου ο εκλεκτος μου ον ευδοκησεν η ψυχη μου Q Syh
2 ουδε ανησει) σ΄ non decipietur Hi
3 και λινον - σβεσει) α΄ και λινον αμαυρον (α΄σ΄θ΄ αμαυρον Q Syh) ου σβεσει Eus Chr ; σ΄ ουδε λινον αμαυρον σβεσει θ΄ και στιππυον αμαυρον ου σβεσει Eus
4 αναλαμψει - κρισιν) α΄θ΄ non obscurabit et non curret donec ponat in terra iudicium Hi
second και - end) α΄σ΄θ΄ και τω νομω αυτου εθνη ελπιουσιν Eus

Matthew 12:16-21 CF: "this was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah"

16 καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ φανερὸν αὐτὸν
ποιήσωσιν
17 ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου
λέγοντος
18 ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἠρέτισα
ὁ ἀγαπητός μου [a-ὃν]a εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου
θήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν
καὶ κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπαγγελεῖ
19 οὐκ ἐρίσει οὐδὲ κραυγάσει
οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις ἐν[b] ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴς
αὐτοῦ
20 κάλαμον συντετριμμένον οὐ κατεάξει
καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σβέσει
ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νῖκος τὴν κρίσιν
21 καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν

[a-a]Koine θ pm εις ον; C* D al Ir[lat] εν ω [b]700 omits

Various opinions have been given concerning the source of the distinctive NT text-form. Ernst Lohmeyer has maintained that the citation embodies a Galilean translation-tradition,[1] but offers no evidence for this hypothesis. A possible Aramaic source is suggested both by C. H. Toy and A. H. McNeile.[2] The former regards the citation as a translation of a paraphrastic Aramaic version, whereas the latter considers it to be a translation of an Aramaic testimonia. Although the Dead Sea Scrolls have given us reason to accept the existence of Aramaic literary material,[3] it would be difficult to account for a set of circumstances where an Aramaic version, to the exclusion of Hebrew and Greek, would be useful. Other scholars maintain that this is an independent direct translation of the Hebrew,[4] but the large number of variants from all other Greek versions and the occurrence of several unique words militate against this view. It would be difficult for Matthew, translating relatively late in terms of the tradition,

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[1] Das Evangelium des Matthaeus, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentary ueber das Neue Testament, ed. by H. A. W. Meyer (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Reprecht, 1956), p. 187.

[2] C. H. Toy, Quotations in the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), p. 36. A. H. McNeile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Macmillan and Co., 1949), p. 172. Toy's suggestion that the Aramaic source was transmitted orally in the synagogue has some attraction.

[3] See the pertinent discussion of this point in W. D. Davies' article, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins," Religion in Life, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Spring, 1957, pp. 246 ff.

[4] J. A. Alexander, The Gospel According to Matthew (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864), p. 331; A. J. Maas, The Gospel According to St. Matthew with an Exegetical and Critical Commentary (second edition; St. Louis: B. Herder, 1916), p. 144; Josef Schmid, Das

to avoid being influenced by the LXX and related texts, which seem to be so widespread so early in Christian circles.

Krister Stendahl, in his book The School of St. Matthew,[5] has sought to show that the citation before us is not a translation, but an interpretation, of the passage.[6] This of course is true, for all translations are interpretative to some degree. However, in this case, Stendahl maintains, we may observe a type of interpretative translation which he refers to as midrash pesher, similar to that which is found in the Qumran community. On the basis of this insight and of a close analysis of this passage, he maintains that the form of this citation is the result of a school of Christian scholars, headed by St. Matthew.[7] This school, in its translation of Old Testament material, was selective with respect to the other versions of the Scriptures,

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Evangelium nach Matthaeus. In Das Neue Testament, eds. Alfred Wikenhauser and Otto Russ (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1952), p. 169; Karl Staab, Das Evangelium Nach Matthaeus, in Die Heilige Schrift in Deutscher Uebersetzung: Echter Bibel series, Das Neue Testament, ed. Karl Staab (Wuerzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1951), p. 65.

[5]The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament, No. 20 in the Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis series (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954). For a good critical review of this book, see Bertil Gaertner, "The Habakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew," Studia Theologica, ed. Ordinum Theologorum Scandinavicorum, Vol. VIII, Fasc. 11 (1954), pp. 1-24, Lund: Prostant Apud C. W. K. Gleerum, 1955; also see the discussion below, Chapter V.

[6]Ibid., pp. 115, 198. [7]Ibid., pp. 109, 115.

using as its standard "what happened to Jesus."[8]

With respect to this view, what may be said? First, one may maintain that the existence of such a formal school selectively and eclectically translating the Old Testament is neither established nor essential. A circle of study and interpretation of the Scriptures certainly, without question, may be seen behind the Gospel of Matthew. That this circle of study was embodied in a formal school for teachers and church leaders is far from being demonstrated. Rather, Stendahl has failed to see not the scope but the depth in time of this translation tradition. He rightly maintains that the citation "can only have a satisfactory explanation as a targumized text which is the fruit of reflection and acquaintance with the interpretation of the Scriptures."[9] What insures that this process took place in the formal school of St. Matthew suggested by Stendahl? Why could not this process have taken place through the period of oral tradition within the particular Christian community out of which the Gospel of Matthew arose? It is possible that the present form of this citation arose not out of the situation described by Stendahl, but that the author of this Gospel was using an independent Greek version of the Old Testament long current in Christian usage. Not only W. C. Allen, whom Stendahl cursorily mentions, but such scholars

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[8] Ibid., p. 112.

[9] Ibid., p. 115.

as Plummer and Carr, whom Stendahl fails to consider entirely, so maintain.[10] Carr, especially, supports the contention that the citation is not Matthaean with this comment,

> Here, only in the New Testament, it may be noted that in this citation there are three ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the New Testament, αἱρετιζειν-ἐρίζειν-τύφομαι, none of which occur in the LXX version of the prophecy; the future καταεάζαι is extremely rare, and the construction of ἐλπίζειν is found here only in the New Testament. The divergency from the LXX points to an independent version, and the divergence from St. Matthew's vocabulary points to some translation other than the Evangelist.[11]

The "other translator" may be none other than a long-standing tradition of informal interpretative study. The translation taken from that tradition, found in the church of Matthew, may be not the product but the basis of the parallels found in the other versions. This view will be strengthened by our analysis of the purpose, general and particular, of the citation, and the antiquity of cultic usage which may lie behind it.

C. G. Montefiore correctly indicates the necessity of seeking both a particular and a general purpose in this

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[10] W. C. Allen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew, in The International Critical Commentary series (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p. 130f; A. Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Elliot Stock, 1910), p. 175; A. Carr, ed. The Gospel According to St. Matthew, in the Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges series, ed. J. J. S. Perowne (eleventh impression; Cambridge: at the University Press, 1906), p. 179.

[11] Loc. cit.

citation.[12] Let us seek to draw out the particular purpose first. Although both Alfred Plummer and Sherman Johnson maintain that the citation was used for the sake of the concluding words concerning the Gentiles,[13] this is disproved by the context in Matthew itself. What was Matthew's particular purpose in using this citation? Some scholars think that he is drawing a contrast between, on one hand, the Lord's quiet work of healing and his avoidance of publicity and, on the other hand, the hostile clamor of the Pharisees.[14] This is not untrue; however it does miss the mark in determining the specific purpose. Matthew himself specifies the purpose of the citation:

> Jesus. . .withdrew from there. And many followed him, and he healed them all, and ordered them not to make him known. This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: . . .[15]

Matthew cites this Scripture to show that in the command of Jesus "not to make him known" this Scripture was fulfilled; it

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[12] The Synoptic Gospels (second edition; London: Macmillan and Co., 1927), II, p. 191.

[13] Plummer, op. cit., p. 175; Sherman E. Johnson, "The Gospel According to St. Matthew (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. VII, George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., editors (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1951), p. 396.

[14] Allen, op. cit., p. 130; Schmid, op. cit., p. 168; D. W. Michaelis, Das Evangelium nach Matthaeus, in Schweizerisches Bibelwerk fuer die Gemeinde series (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1948), II, p. 147. Cf. F. C. Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), p. 209.

[15] Matthew 12:15-17.

may be that in Jesus' withdrawal the Scripture was also being fulfilled.[16] The relevant portion of the citation, therefore, is,

> He will not wrangle or cry aloud,
> nor will any one hear his voice in the streets;[17]

This, then, is a fulfilled prophecy from Scripture like those which we find in Matthew 1:23 and 2:23. In this case, however, the prophecy is embedded in a more extensive passage; the passage itself, as Stendahl demonstrates, has been thoroughly interpreted.

This fact is of the greatest importance for an understanding of the significance of this quotation. It may shed great light not only on the transmission process but upon the development of early Christian thought.

Why did not Matthew cite the relevant portion, and omit the remainder, as he did in the passages to which reference has been made? The answer is clear if we consider the passage to be a summary description of certain aspects of the mission of Jesus. This passage, as the form indicates, had been in circulation and usage for a long time; Matthew chose this passage for his particular purpose; he would not, and perhaps could not because of tradition, omit the irrelevant portions. It is important to see the value of this passage for Christian exegesis. Lohmeyer

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[16] See B. T. D. Smith, ed., The Gospel According to Matthew, in The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, ed. by A. Nairne (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1933), p. 69; also A. Carr, op. cit., p. 180.

[17] Matthew 12:19.

has said that it presents Matthew's Christology;[18] perhaps it would be better to describe the unit as a summary Schilderung,[19] and to accord to it the same place as the passage from Isaiah 61:1ff. holds in the Lukan tradition. E. Klostermann points out the following relevant points: Christ's status as παῖς and ἀγαπητός, the endowment with the Spirit, the establishment of the kingdom (κρίσις.משפט) among the heathen, the compassionate patience of Christ concerning the final result, and the designation of His name as the basis on which the Gentiles may hope.[20] That this passage became embedded very deeply and very early in the Christian tradition is hard to dispute. The form of the citation and the manner in which Matthew uses it for his specific purpose confirms the antiquity of the passage.

Several insights and consequences arise from this conclusion. For instance, this passage is useful for a study of early Christian interpretation and the motifs present in the particular circle in which the passage was transmitted. Again, the occurrence of παῖς may shed light on the usage of the same term in the Acts of the Apostles; indeed, since Matthew and Luke apparently shared much material in common, this text may be one of the passages of Scripture out of which the cultic usage of

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[18]Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 187. [19]Michaelis, loc. cit.

[20]E. Klostermann, Das Matthaeusevangelium, in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament series, Hans Lietzmann ed. (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1938), p. 107.

the term, as we find it in the Acts and the first two Chapters of Luke, was developed. If this passage underlies the Baptismal formula (Matt. 3:17; Mk. 1:11; Lk. 3:22), which is far from established,[21] it was implemented in part also by Mark, and may be at the root of the term "Son of God," a term which is dominant in the Second Gospel and which appears in another form in the Gospel of John and in the works of Paul.

Equally important is the fact that the vicariously suffering Servant of Yahweh is not present in this context,[22] although for modern scholars it is one of the "Servant songs." The associations of the term παῖς, discussed below, and the absence of the vicarious Servant motif here, may indicate that elsewhere in the N. T. the term παῖς need not necessarily have the connotation of vicarious suffering.

Now the conclusions of this study may be summarized. First, the matrix of this citation is to be found, not in a formal school for teachers and church leaders, but in a long tradition of informal interpretative study of the Scriptures. This tradition may have

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[21] Against Stendahl, op. cit., p. 110.

[22] The following scholars maintain that this motif is present in this passage: Schmid, op. cit., p. 169; Theodor Zahn, Das Evangelium des Matthaeus Ausgelegt, Vol. I in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. by author (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1903), p. 450f.; Alfred Durand, Evangile selon Saint Mattieu: Traduction et Commentaire, in Verbus Salutis series, no editor given (thirty-third edition; Paris: Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1948), p. 223. Such interpretation is eisegetical.

been embodied in an independent Greek translation which Matthew implemented, and which was current in Matthew's church. Such a conclusion is supported both by the form of the citation and the manner in which Matthew uses it. This informal interpretative process began very early in the Christian tradition. Second, although Matthew used the citation for a special purpose, the fact that he quoted the whole passage indicates that it was a unit in the tradition which he was using. An examination of the whole passage reveals that it is a summary description of aspects of Jesus' person and mission, similar to that which is found in Luke 4:18, 19. Since the passage was in early use, it is valuable for the light which it sheds on early Christian thought, especially the term παῖς. It is possible, as we have seen, that this passage, as well as others, underlies not only the cultic usage of the term παῖς which we find in Luke-Acts, but also the title "Son of God" which we find especially in Mark, John, and Paul. Equally important, the motif of the vicariously suffering Servant of Yahweh, is not present in this Urbibelspruch.[23]

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[23]For the continuation of this discussion concerning παῖς, see Chapter VI below.

Isaiah 49:6d,e /// Acts 13:47

MT:

וְנָתַתִּיךָ לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם [a] לִהְיוֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד-קְצֵה [b] הָאָרֶץ׃

[a] IQIs[a] גואים [b] IQIs[a] קצוי

LXX:

ἰδοὺ [a-] τέθεικά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους [a] εἰς φῶς
ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε [b] [c] εἰς σωτηρίαν [c] ἕως ἐσχάτου
τῆς γῆς

[a] B-Q[mg] L"-86[c]-233 Syl Eus Tht δεδοκα σε ; א O'-Q[mg] L"-46-86[c]-233 C 198 239′ 403′ 449′ 538 544 Cop Syl Eus Tht Tyc Hi add εις διαθηκην γενους A Q omit [b] 88 449′ omit [c-c] 565 omits

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

ιδου τεθεικα σε εις φως εθνων) α′σ′θ′ same as text Pr
διαθηκην) α′σ′θ′ συνθηκην Tht

Acts 13:47 CF: "for so the Lord has command us"

οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλταί [a] ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος
[b-] τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν
τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς [b]

[a] D* pc εντεταλκεν
[b-b] D Ιδου φως τεθεικα σε τοις εθνεσιν του ειναι σε εις σωτηριαν εως εσχατου της γης

J. H. Ropes, working with the text of the Acts in The Beginnings of Christianity, stresses the two textual traditions in the N. T., the first supported by both the Greek and Latin text of Codex Bezae and by Cyprian, and the second supported by the other New Testament manuscripts. Without taking the LXX variants into account, Ropes maintains that the B text of the N. T. is correct and is a translation from a Hebrew or an Aramaic original. On the other hand, Ropes maintains that the Western text altered the form of the citation by adding ἰδού from the LXX, by improving the barbarous ἐις φῶς ἐθνῶν to φῶς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, and by giving φῶς a more prominent position.[1] Unfortunately, these assumptions can not be granted, however. The fact that Ropes fails entirely to take into account the reading of A and Q in the LXX undercuts his first assumption; as a consequence his second is also undercut. If the variant supported by A and Q is recognized as authentic, then one may not arbitrarily assume that the text of Acts is a translation directly from the Hebrew or Aramaic. In fact, the appearance of τέθεικά in both readings in the New Testament indicate that most probably the New Testament readings are not following the Vaticanus tradition in the LXX.

Having recognized the existence of the Alexandrine tradition in the LXX, the preference for this tradition by the New Testament at this point can be demonstrated. In both of the variants in the

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[1] J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts, Vol. VIII in The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, ed. by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1926), p. 128.

LXX text, the New Testament passage agrees with A, in one case against and in the other case with the Masoretic text. Not only this, but the LXX itself varies from the MT in two particulars other than the variants noted. The LXX inserts ἰδού, for which there is no counterpart in the MT, and it fails to retain the possessive "my salvation," reading only the indefinite "salvation." The N. T. ignores the first variation, and agrees with the LXX in the second.

Now let us turn our attention to several other considerations concerning this citation. First, we may examine the Citation Formula for this quotation. Paul, according to Luke, after meeting little success in his preaching to the Jews, then turns to the Gentiles. The justification for this in Scripture is the passage before us. He prefaces this citation with the formula, οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος, "for so the Lord has commanded us." Does ὁ κύριος signify Jesus the Risen One or Yahweh? In order to arrive at the meaning of ὁ κύριος in this passage, it may be well to examine the usage elsewhere. The most likely place would be in those passages dealing with Paul's conversion and commission delivered through Ananias: Acts 9:1-19 and Acts 26:6-16, the first from the author and the second supposedly from Paul. If we examine these passages carefully, we find much relevant data. Both passages, of necessity, commence with the description of Jesus' revelation of Himself.[2] Again, His appearance is marked with "light."[3] This was no natural event; rather the "light" was the mark of something

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[2] 9:4-5; 26:14-15

[3] 9:3; 26:12.

above all physical events: it was "a great light from heaven."[4] That Paul, according to Luke, recognized the source of this light, and what this meant for him, is indicated by Paul's reply to the question of Jesus, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?". Paul replied, "Who are you, Lord (κύριε)?"[5] This emphasizes another aspect of these passages: the repeated occurrence of κύριος, Paul uses it in reply. The Christians are termed "disciples of the Lord."[6] Ananias uses the term time and again with reverence.[7] The author of Acts uses it editorially.[8] Now, in each of the last three instances the title is used with reference to the Risen One. This is especially significant since Luke in his gospel seems to preferκύριος editorially.[9] These considerations establish the conclusion that in these passages κύριοςis used in reference to the Risen Lord. This experience on the road to Damascus provides the starting point for Paul's mission. Therefore, it is probable that the term κύριοςin the Citation Formula before us refers not to Yahweh but to the Risen One.[10] It is Jesus, exalted, who has

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[4] Ibid.

[5] 9:5; 26:15

[6] 9:1

[7] 9:10,13,17

[8] 9:10,11,15

[9] Luke 11:39; 12:42, 13:15; 18:6

[10] Note that, if the identification of the exalted One with "the Lord" is prior to the citation of this text, a firm basis for this citation formula may be found in Isaiah 49:5 ("And now the Lord says, . .") and 49:6 ("He says. . .").

commissioned Paul and Barnabas to take the "light" to the Gentiles. This is partly confirmed by the editorial comment after our citation, "the Gentiles . . . were glad and glorified the word of the Lord (τον λόγον τοῦ κυρίου)," [11] an expression in which "Lord" refers not to "God," as the Revised Standard Version translates, but to the exalted Jesus.

Another observation is important for an understanding of Paul's sense of mission as revealed in this citation. In the first account of the experience on the road to Damascus, Paul's experience is followed by blindness, the coming of Ananias, the recovery of sight, and the statement of Paul's mission. The light on the road caused darkness for Paul, physical and certainly spiritual, but through Ananias "light," in a much fuller sense, physical and spiritual, was given by Christ. Now in the second account Ananias nowhere appears. Instead of being told to go into Damascus to await the Lord's bidding, Paul is instructed to

> . . .rise and stand upon your feet;
> for I have appeared to you for this purpose,
> to appoint you to serve and bear witness to the
> things in which you have seen me and to those in
> which I will appear to you, delivering you from
> the people and from the Gentiles--to whom I send
> you to open their eyes, that they may turn from
> darkness to light and from the power of Satan to
> God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins
> and a place among those who are sanctified by
> faith in me.[12]

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[11] Adopting the more difficult reading of the MSS. Aleph and Alexandrinus.

Paul is commissioned to witness to the past and future self-revelations of the exalted Lord, and in this way to "open the eyes of the Gentiles," that is, to give them spiritual sight that they may turn to God and be saved. That which Paul experienced in the first passage is the same to which he is commissioned in the second. It is this latter commission which is supported by this citation from Isaiah. The Lord Jesus has commanded him "to be light for the Gentiles, to bring salvation to the ends of the earth."[13]

Finally, we should note that this citation is taken from one of the so-called "servant songs," and that it is Paul and Barnabas who would stand in the place of the "servant" if the context applies. Obviously, it does not. The Lord is not, as in Second Isaiah, Yahweh but Jesus exalted. The servant, in the New Testament context, is not a vicarious sufferer, but one who is sent by the exalted Christ. To be sure, Paul repeatedly refers to himself as a "servant of the Lord Jesus," and it is in this sense that the title "servant of the Lord" might be used. This may represent a radical transformation of Deutero-Isaianic thought.

In conclusion, let us summarize our observations. First, the New Testament reading, represented by the non-Bezae text,

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[12]Acts 26:16-18

[13]For further discussion, see Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, trans. Frank Clarkel, (Richmond, Va.; John Knox Press, 1960).

follows the tradition of the LXX represented by Codex Alexandrinus. This was established by an analysis of the New Testament readings, by an examination of the LXX variants, and by contrasting the LXX and MT, especially in relation to the non-Bezae New Testament reading.

Second, the term κύριος in the Citation Formula and 13:48 refers not to Yahweh, but to the Risen One, the exalted Christ. The term itself in relation to this citation may have its basis in the LXX context. According to Luke, Paul considered himself to be sent by the Risen Lord to give spiritual "light" to the Gentiles. This was one of the motives for his driving missionary zeal. The mission was to be accomplished by his witness concerning the appearances of the Risen Lord, among which was his own experience of spiritual "light" on the road to Damascus.

Third, the vicariously suffering Servant of Yahweh is not found in this context. The term "Servant of the Lord" can only be understood in this passage with reference to Paul and Barnabas as the "Servants of the Lord" Jesus.

Isaiah 49:8a,b,c /// II Corinthians 6:2

MT:

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה

בְּעֵת רָצוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ[a] וּבְיוֹם יְשׁוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּיךָ[b]

[a]IQIs[a] אענכה [b]IQIs[a] אעזרכה

LXX:

οὕτως[a] λέγει κύριος[b]

καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου[c]

καὶ ἐν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι[d]

[a]233 ταδε [b]538 Cop κυριος ο θεος (αγιος Bo) τω (του Cop) ισραηλ; Clem κυριος ο ρυσαμενος ισραηλ
[c]א* σοι; 147 σε [d]O' L"-86[c]-233 C 239' 403' 770 Syl Eus Tht Hi (※ Syl) σοι και επλασα σε

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

καιρω δεκτω) α΄σ΄ εν καιρω ευδοκιας Chr
σοι) (θ΄) σοι (※) και επλασα σε Q ; α΄σ΄θ΄ (α΄σ΄ Chr)
σοι (και) διετηρησα σε Eus Chr

II Corinthians 6:1,2 CF: possibly "for he says"

[1] συνεργοῦντες δὲ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν μὴ εἰς κενὸν
τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς
[2] λέγει γάρ
καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου
καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι
ἰδοὺ νὺν καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας

The citation at hand is of significance because, although not of a textual nature, important inferences may be made from it. The citation clearly follows the LXX.

Several aspects are clear from the manner in which this citation and the following interpretation is included. Plummer has rightly indicated that the citation and the interpretation which follows should be regarded as an aside, a unit which in modern writing would stand in the footnote.[1] That is to say, the citation is not integrally related to the context; rather it is quoted as an admonition to the readers to utilize the opportunity to receive the effects of God's grace.[2] If the citation, along with the following interpretation, were omitted, the continuity of Paul's thought would not be seriously affected.

Ellis rightly remarks "that the whole verse--the OT text plus the interpretation--was taken as a quotation by Paul."[3] Paul in his exhortation has included a unit of material which had been developed, interpreted, and implemented by many before him. If this is the case, then several inferences may justifiably be made. It would be reasonable to assume that this material used

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[1]Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in The International Critical Commentary, ed. by F. Brown and A. Plummer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 190.

[2]So Hans Lietzmann, Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus, Part I: Die Vier Hauptbriefe, Vol. III in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), p. 193.

[3]E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 143.

as an admonition at this point by Paul was customarily used in other contexts. Since it appears to have been relatively fixed in form by Paul's time, its place in the tradition should be reflected within itself. What was its place in the Christian tradition? Quite obviously, the citation and its interpretation reflects an acute awareness of the eschatological significance of the contemporary period. This awareness provides much of the background of the words and deeds of the early Christians, not only with regard to the proclamation of the gospel but with regard to the teaching, healing, prophetic and other functions of the primitive community. Though the eschatological emphasis may recede in Paul's writings, it always stands in the background and provides the framework for his words and work. This insight will prove of great significance, not only for further consideration of Paul's thought, but also for the evaluation of much of the material to be found in the Apocalypse of John.

In addition, this citation presents us with a striking illustration of what Stendahl terms midrash pesher. Both criteria accepted by Stendahl are present: the apocalyptic or eschatological emphasis, and the fusion of the text and interpretation, as we see in verse two. Ellis arrives at the same conclusion and cites other instances of the same hermaneutic principles both in Paul and in pre-Pauline passages.[4] This unit seems clearly to be a

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[4]E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 143.

quotation by Paul of traditional material. Must we assume that the present unit is the result of a "scribal school," as Stendahl has maintained? If not, and the result be ascribed to lay interpretation, what necessitates the positing of such a school for some of the citations in Matthew? May the frequency of "intentional changes based on the Hebrew" be accepted as a valid criterion? Or could the greater frequency of such so-called "intentional changes" be the result not of scribal activity but a longer process of interpretation? An effort to answer these and similar questions will not be attempted here, but will be reserved for another place. It is sufficient to call attention to these questions, and this passage as related to them.

Another matter to which some attention should be given is that of the relationship between the Old and New Testament contexts. Is Paul aware of the context in Isaiah from which this passage is taken? Plummer quite accurately asserts that Paul is aware of the context. Plummer is thinking of the servant-figure. He indicates points of correspondence between the experience of the servant and of Paul: the call of the servant and his mission both to the Israelites and the Gentiles; the initiation of his mission, followed by a period of labour and disappointment; the cited words of encouragement, and the comforting awareness that, though despised by men, the message has been confirmed and put into effect by God Himself.[5] Some passages in the Acts support this

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[5]Plummer, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

view,[6] and Paul's words in 6:4 especially may be interpreted in this light, "as servants of God we commend ourselves in every way."

If Paul could relate himself to the figure of the "servant of the Lord," what would this infer? Would it have been possible for Paul to have had a clear-cut conception of the "the Servant of the Lord," the individual-collective figure of the vicarious sufferer? This seems highly unlikely; rather it would seem that Paul thought not in terms of a "servant-figure," but a "servant-type," a motif which could be applied to Jesus, himself, and any other person who was obedient to the will of God, and therefore a part of the "new Israel." Other outcroppings of this concept of a "servant-type" appear elsewhere; a more complete discussion of it will be conducted in another place.

Regardless of whether this servant-type was applied to himself by Paul, we can be relatively sure that the first section of the 49th Chapter of Isaiah stays with Paul. As indicated in a following discussion, verses 6:14 - 7:1 seem to be an insertion. When these verses are omitted, the chapter becomes a cohesive unit, and the motifs of the 49th Chapter of Isaiah appear throughout the whole of it. "His afflicted one" (Isaiah 49:9,10,13 // II Cor. 6:4-6; 7:4,5) is "comforted" (Isaiah 49:13 // II Cor. 7:4,6,7,13), resulting in "rejoicing" (Isaiah 49:13a,b // II Cor. 6:4,7,9,10,11, 16). These and other allusions will be analysed more fully in the

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[6] E.g., Acts 13:47; see above

section of this paper dealing with allusions.

Yet another aspect deserves comment. The citation is introduced with the phrase λέγει γάρ. The subject of this phrase is regarded as θέος, taken from the preceding verse, if indeed a subject is required.[7] In the LXX this passage is introduced with the prophetic οὕτως λέγει κύριος , the latter referring to Yahweh. Now in the New Testament, as we have seen in a number of instances, Jesus the Exalted One is regarded as ὁ κύριος. Could it be that Paul, though not citing the OT formula, has it in mind? If so, does κύριος refer to God, or to the Risen Lord? On the one hand, the subject θέος is most normal and is grammatically most likely. The first of these may be due to our assumptions, and the second of these holds true whether the subject is God or the Risen Lord. On the other hand, the gift of the Spirit and the opportunity for forgiveness and repentance comes from the Risen Lord.[8] The latter of the two alternatives is certainly in complete agreement with apostolic preaching. It may be objected that with the Risen Lord as referent, the citation would not support the exhortation to receive "the grace of God." Although the gift of grace is "of God," it is mediated through Jesus Christ; both the Father and the Lord Jesus share in its

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[7] Plummer, op. cit., p. 190.

[8] E.g., Acts 2:33,36,38; 4:12; 13:38; Romans 19:12,13

distribution.[9] In addition, as the RSV translates, the participle συν-εργοῦντες could correctly have the meaning "working together with him," and this pronoun, as well as the understood subject of the verb in the citation formula, could refer to the preceding verses, where Christ occupies the place of primary importance. After taking all of these factors into consideration, Christ ὁ κύριος is most probably the subject of the verb λέγει.

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[9] See especially Romans 1:4,5:". . . Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we have received grace . . ."; see also Romans 1:7; 5:2,21; I Cor. 1:3; 16:23; Gal. 1:3; 6:18; II Cor. 1:2; 13:14. These citations do not pretend to be exhaustive.

Isaiah 45:23; 49:18 /// Romans 14:11

Isaiah 49:18 MT:

חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם־יְהוָה

[a]IQIs[a] נואם

Isaiah 49:18 LXX:

ζῶ ἐγώ λέγει κύριος

Isaiah 45:23 MT:

בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי
יָצָא מִפִּי עָדָקָה דָּבָר וְלֹא יָשׁוּב
כִּי־לִי תִּכְרַע כָּל־בֶּרֶךְ[a] תִּשָּׁבַע[b] כָּל־לָשׁוֹן

[a]IQIs[a] ברך [b]IQIs[a] ותשבע

Isaiah 45:23 LXX:

κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ[a] ὀμνύω[b]
[c]ἐἰ μή[c] ἐξελεύσεται[d] ἐκ τοῦ[e] στόματός μου δικαιοσύνη
[f]οἱ λόγοι[f] μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται[g]
ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ[h] ἐξομολογήσεται[i]
πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ[j]

[a]46 534 εμου [b]א* 544 ομνυων
[c-c]Eus reads η μην; א[c] A-Q*-86* 62-233 565 544 read ει μην
[d]93 εστι [e]OII C 403′ 449′ omit του [f-f]534 ο λογος;
א* LI 407 410 534 Wirc Cop Syl[h] και οι λογοι
[g]534 αποστραφησεται [h]106 omits και
[i]א * reads ομνιται; א[ca] ομιται; א[c txt] 86 O′ L"-46 C′ 403
407 410 449′ 538 544 Wirc Cop Eus Tht Cyr read ομειται;
Hi iurabit et confitebitur [j]O-88 L"-46-233 C 407 410 449′ 538 Cop
Eus Tht Cyr τον θεον; א* τον κυριον; L"-233 544
Syl Eus Tht add τον αληθινον

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

εξελευσεται) α΄θ΄ ομοιως Q
εξομολο. – end) α΄σ΄θ΄ ομειται πασα γλωσσα (τω θεω) Eus

Romans 14:10-12 CF: "It is written"

10 σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου
ἢ καὶ σὺ τί ἐξουθενεῖς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου
πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ [a]
11 γέγραπται γάρ
ζῶ ἐγώ λέγει κύριος
ὅτι [b] ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ
καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ
12 ἄρα οὖν [c] ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει [d]
[e-]τῷ θεῷ[-e]

[a]Koine pl Sy Poly Marc Orig χριστου [b]G ει μη
[c]B D* G 1739 omit [d]B D* G lat αποδωσει
[e-e]B G 1739 it omit

This citation is of importance primarily for its implications concerning the lordship of Christ. Before this topic is approached, several notes of less importance may be presented. Textually, Paul here includes a citation which follows the LXX text. Two variants are present in the last clause of the passage cited. The N. T. agrees with the readings preserved in the MSS group headed by Alexandrinus, Marchalianus, the Curetonia Syriac, and the margin and original text of Aleph. He does transpose the word order, reading 134256.

Ellis, in his book Paul's Use of the Old Testament, conducted an incisive discussion of the citations in the New Testament which include in the citation the formula, λέγει κύριος. Ellis maintained that these citations were received by the particular authors from common tradition, and that they had their origin as utterances of Christian prophets. Within the Christian community they were regarded as authoritative utterances.[1] Ellis makes a good case for this view, and we shall have occasion to refer to it later. He bases his argument on two factors which he considers to be present in these particular quotations: 1) all of the citations vary both from the LXX and the MT, and 2) in at least six instances the above phrase is added to the citation. All of Paul's citations in this category are assigned to this group.[2] It is only necessary to note here that both of these factors, rather than being present in this citation, are absent: the first can only be supported by ignoring the relationship between the N. T. and the text represented by ℵ, and the second by ignoring the probability that the first phrase is taken from Isaiah 49:18. However Ellis, in his basic contention, still has a point.

Let us turn now to the major implication of this citation. Paul in this section is dealing with problems which have arisen within the community with regard to persons of different convictions

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[1] E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 107-112.

[2] Ellis, op. cit., p. 107.

and their attitude toward each other. It was a conflict between the eating of meat and the eating of vegetables only, between the observance of special days and the non-observance of special days. In answer to these conflicts, Paul reminds his readers that they are oriented not to each other primarily, but to the Lord; likewise, we are not to judge each other, for we shall all be judged by God. This is the explicit purpose of the citation. Paul says, "For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God; for it is written, ...So each of us shall give account of himself to God."[3]

If this were the reason for the citation, why then did Paul choose this scripture? Why did he not choose another more appropriate to his point, such as Psalm 50:3-6? The answer appears to be that Paul has appropriated a familiar passage of Scripture and applied it to his purpose. Herein lies the implicit, and most important, significance of this citation.

The citation as it stands is a fusion of a phrase from Isaiah 49:18 and the last portion of 45:23. The tremendous significance of these phrases become clear upon examination. The phrase ζῶ ἐγώ constitutes the most absolute utterance that Yahweh could utter: an utterance supported by an oath,

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[3] 14:10c,11a,12; see Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, Tenth Edition (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), p. 304, for a good analysis of this section.

an oath which Yahweh swears by Himself.[4] Yahweh is the "living One" par excellence. Since He is the fount and ground of all life, this asservation indicates the most profound aspect of His being. No statement could be more definite than one supported by His oath. Though similar to asservations found elsewhere, the phrase is generally regarded as being taken from this passage in Isaiah.[5]

It is not by accident that this phrase was related to the second passage. Rather, the second passage is clearly the passage which is dominant. The words of the oath replace the first phrase of 45:23, "By myself I have sworn." A word has been uttered, made absolute by His oath, that His sovereignty is to be fully and finally established. Against the idolatry and pressures of the Exile, these words clearly express the dominant and all-pervading theme of Second Isaiah.

What is the New Testament application of this word? Most commentators would see in this passage the continuation of the meaning of the Old Testament, and take the whole passage as

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[4]This form is widespread in the Old Testament, and in each instance is the strongest basis to which a statement may be referred. See Numbers 14:21; Deut. 32:40 especially; Daniel 12:7; Ruth 3:13; Judith 2:12; see also James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, pp. 534, 575.

[5]So Ellis, op. cit., p. 151; Michel, loc. cit.; Hans Lietzmann, Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus, I: Die Vier Hauptbriefe, in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), p. 67.

supporting the certainty of judgment.[6] Closer examination will reveal, however, that this is not the case, and a concensus of scholars will not make it so. The last phrase is certainly cited with reference to the judgement of God at the eschaton. The first phrase and the citation from 49:18 bear the marks of extensive and pervasive Christian interpretation and application: these phrases are to be ascribed not to God the Father but to the living Lord Jesus. This is a bold statement and one which has serious implications for our understanding of early Christian thought; therefore it requires strong support. This support is forthcoming, however. First, the phrase τῷ θεῷ, which is an interpretative insertion in the LXX, has a strangeness in the N. T. which it does not have in the LXX passage. No doubt the phrase was inserted in the old Greek version to provide a clear indication of the subject of the verse. This necessity is not present in the N. T. context; λέγει κύριος provides this subject. In the N. T. text the phrase τῷ θεῷ and the term κύριος could easily have separate referents.

As we see from the N. T. context itself, the term κύριος refers not to God the Father but to the Risen One. Both this identification and the distinction between the two is repeatedly explicit in the preceding passage.

> He also who eats, eats in honor of the Lord,
> since he gives thanks to God;

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[6] So Michel, loc. cit.; Lietzmann, loc. cit.

> while he who abstains, abstains in honor of the Lord
> and gives thanks to God. . .
> If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ died and lived again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living.[7]

Here we note these factors: the distinction between honoring the Lord and giving thanks to God; the explicit statement of the "lordship" of Christ, and the emphasis on the fact that Christ "lived again." This latter element is related to the asservation, "As I live, says the Lord." The identification of the Risen Christ with "the Lord" is entirely in keeping with Paul's usage elsewhere, and indeed with the general usage of the New Testament.

The Christian interpretation of this passage is proven conclusively by the implementation of it in Philippians 2:10,11. In these verses, the passage concerning complete sovereignty is explicitly applied to the Risen One, and He is given the "name which is above every name," that of κύριος. There can be no doubt of this identification in this passage. The identification here gives extremely strong support to a similar interpretation in Romans 14:11.

Though this interpretation of the first and second phrases was not the primary purpose of the citation in Romans, the fact that the passage is quoted as a unit and that it represents a fusion of two passages makes probable the suggestion that the passage already existed as a unit. The pre-Pauline fusion of the two

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[7] 14:6b-9

may or may not have been the product of Christian prophets, as Ellis maintains. The fact that the passage existed as a unit, and was used to support the motif of the "lordship" of the Risen One, has profound significance for our understanding of the origin of this motif and the influence of Second Isaiah in the New Testament. It also sheds valuable light on the process of pre-Pauline interpretation and the authority of units commonly accepted and previously interpreted in Paul's time.

Isaiah 52:7 /// Romans 10:15

MT:

מַה־נָּאוּ עַל־הֶהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר
מַשְׁמִיעַ[a] שָׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר[b] טוֹב מַשְׁמִיעַ יְשׁוּעָה

[a]IQIs[a] מבשר [b]IQIs[a] משמיע

LXX:

πάρειμι

ὡς ὥρα[a] [b]ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων

[c]ὡς[b] πόδες[c] εὐαγγελιζομένου[d] ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης

ὡς[e] εὐαγγελιζόμενος[f] ἀγαθά

ὅτι ἀκουστὴν[g] ποιήσω[h] τὴν σωτηρίαν σου[i]

[a]Q[mg]-88 22[c]-62-LII-36 93-86[c]-456 403′407 Tht ωραιοι
[b-b]88 omits επι τ. ορ. ως [c-c]88 22[c] 98 οι ποδ.;
[d]62-LII-86[c]-456 403′ Tht omit ως; Tert omits ποδες
[d]106 87* ευαγγελιζομενοι; Tert evangelizans
[e]L′-62-86[c]-456 403′ Tht Hi omit ως
[f]88-OII L″-86[c]-233 456 C′ 403′ Tht Hi read ευαγγελιζομενου
[g]OII 456 ακουστον [h]62 Syh[txt] ποιησει
[i]Hi meam

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

α′ τι ωραιωθησαν επι τα ορη ποδες ευαγγελιζομενον (−νων Eus) ακουτζοντος ειρηνην ευαγγελιζομενου αγαθον (−θα Eus) ακουτιζοντος σωτηριαν (α′θ′ ακ. σωτ. Pr) Q Eus Chr σ′ (σ′θ′86) τι ευπρεπεις (σ′ τι ευτρεπιζεις Q Chr) επι των ορεων ποδες ευαγγελιζομενον ακουστην ποιουντος σωτηριαν 86 Eus θ′ ως ευπρεπεις (θ′ως ευτρ. Q Chr) επι τα ορη ποδες των ευαγγελιζομενων αγαθα Eus

Romans 10:15 CF: "as it is written"

πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν
καθάπερ[a] γέγραπται
ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες[b] τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθά[c]

[a] P^{46} A ℵ D G pl Clem καθως
[b] Koine D(G) pm lat sy Ir read ειρηνην pm Clem
[c] Preceded by τα in P^{46} ℵ* Koine

In this citation it is clear that Paul is following neither the LXX nor the MT texts. He appears to be nearer to the LXX than not, but he cites selectively and makes several important changes in the citation. Instead of ὥρα, he has ὡραῖοι, a reading which indicates the influence of the Hebrew.[1] He modifies the subject of the participles so that the subject is plural instead of singular. If the definite article τα is an authentic reading, as G. Zuntz believes,[2] it constitutes another difference. In all of these variations, Paul reflects a rendering different both from the LXX and from the translations of Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion. It is difficult to say whether this is an independent translation of

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[1] E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 12, n. 3; p. 14, n. 5; p. 16, n. 3.

[2] G. Zuntz, The Text of the Epistles, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1946 (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 173. Zuntz also regards the clause read by some MSS. as an insertion. The divergent form of the insertion, however, gives some support to the suggestion that other versions of this passage were in circulation in Christian circles.

the Hebrew by Paul, or whether he appropriates a rendering either from common Christian tradition or from a version which is not extant.

Paul in verses 5 through 13 presents the accepted identification of Jesus the Risen One with the Lord, and he closes with the words of Joel 2:32, quoted in Acts 2:21, "every one who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved." In verses 14, 15, and 17 he is concerned with that which is necessary for "calling upon the name of the Lord;" in verses 16, 18-21, he is concerned with the reason for the lack of acceptance by the Jews. This citation falls within the second group.

The citation comes at the end of a chain of argument, and is regarded by most authorities as offering support for the last two links.[3] The full chain is as follows:

> But how are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without a preacher? And how can men preach unless they are sent?

The citation is most appropriate, it would seem, to the third link, yet by inference could be taken to support the last as well.[4] However, the relationship of the citation to the last two links

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[3]See, for example, Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, Tenth Edition (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), pp. 229-230; C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, in The Moffatt New Testament Commentary, ed. by James Moffatt (New York: Harper and Brothers), pp. 169-170.

[4]Dodd, op. cit., p. 169.

is somewhat ambiguous. What does the citation have to do with the "sending" of the preachers? The citation could be an appropriate response to the preceding link, but why then does it occur where it does?

In Second Isaiah the citation appears in one of the most impressive strophes of the work.[5] Repeating the figure of the Herald, the author literally sings with joy as he sees the coming of the Herald and the proclamation of the message: "Your God reigns." The message, then, is concerned with the establishment of the sovereignty of God; this is the "preaching of good news." The Herald appears in the last time, just before the appearing of the Lord with power. Essentially, the figure of the Herald and the proclamation which he brings is eschatological.

Paul takes this passage in context. Here, as elsewhere, the context of eschatological ideas--in which Paul worked, wrote, and preached--is visible.[6] A correct understanding of Paul's concepts are only possible against this background. Conversely, the recognition of this background gives added significance to

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[5]See James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, p. 610, so maintains. On this and the following page Muilenburg conducts a lucid exegesis of the passage.

[6]Cf. Oscar Cullmann, "Eschatology and Missions in the New Testament," in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, W. D. Davis and D. Daube, editors (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1956), p. 416.

eschatological motifs found elsewhere. In this citation Paul identifies the Christian preachers with the "heralds of the Lord."[7] They proclaim that the Lord is come, and that deliverance is available through Him. This was the message of Isaiah; in a distinctively Christian way, this is the message of Paul. Against this background, the citation may be related, not to the last link or two in the argument, but to the whole chain and to the section which precedes it. The citation is most appropriate, not as some vague support for a part of the argument, but as a glowing response to the significance of the Lordship of Christ, and to the essential place of preaching in making effective that Lordship. Only in this way may the tremendous importance which Paul attached to his office as apostle[8] and to his function as a preacher[9] be understood. Men could not call upon the Lord unless they believed, but "faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the preaching of Christ."[10] Thus Paul felt compelled above all to preach, a compulsion derived from the imminence of the eschaton.

In this citation, as well as in others, the line of continuity between Second Isaiah and the Christian κήρυγμα is

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[7]Even Second Isaiah at times may view the "herald" as a collective title: see Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 611, who refers to Isaiah 40:9.

[8]See, e.g., his vigorous affirmation in Galatians 1:1,15.

[9]See, e.g., the explicit statement in I Cor. 1:17.

[10]Romans 10:17

visible. The assimilation of Isaianic thought appears not only in explicit citations but, as we shall see, in other forms. The non-LXX form of the citation gives added support to the primitive character of this process.

Isaiah 50:9; Isaiah 51:6 /// Hebrews 1:11

In Nestle's edition of the Greek New Testament, this passage is marked as being quoted from the above passages in Isaiah. The phrase in question is καὶ πάντος ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται. However, the same words are also present in the LXX text of Psalm 102, a source from which the author is already quoting. The phrase is to be ascribed not to Isaiah, therefore, but to this Psalm. It was not felt necessary on this account to transcribe the text of the Hebrew and Greek of these Isaianic passages.

It is worthwhile to note that in this passage Christ the Son is addressed as "Lord," only in a fuller sense than previously encountered: He is the "Lord" of creation. Does this represent a development of the motif of "Lord"? An answer to this question will not be attempted at this point.

Isaiah 52:5 /// Romans 2:23,24

MT:

וְעַתָּה מַה־לִּי־פֹה[a] נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי־לֻקַּח עַמִּי
חִנָּם מֹשְׁלָו[b] יְהֵילִלוּ[c] נְאֻם־יְהוָה[d] וְתָמִיד
כָּל־הַיּוֹם שְׁמִי מְנֹאָץ׃

[a]Qere, IQIs[a] מַה־לִּי [b]Qere וּמֹשְׁלָו; text is supported by IQIs[a] ; LXX presupposes שִׁמּוּ יְהוָה־ [c]IQIs[a] והוללו; see the discussion below [d]IQIs[a] omits

LXX:

καὶ νῦν τί[a-a] ὧδέ ἐστε[a] τάδε[b] λέγει κύριος
ὅτι ἐλήμφθη ὁ λαός μου δωρεάν θαυμάζετε[c-c] καὶ
ὀλολύζετε[c] τάδε λέγει κύριος δι' ὑμᾶς[de] διὰ παντὸς
τὸ ὄνομα μου[e] βλασφημεῖται [f]ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι[f]

[a-a]OI C" Hi transpose; A 88-OII 233-256 91-490 Eus Hi ἐσται [b]OII Hi omit [c-c]764 omits [d]393 υμας τους ανθρωπους [e-e]OII transposes ; [46] reads ον. το αγιον; Just Eus Tert 417 462 omit [f-f]Labeled with ÷ in B-Q-OI; V omits

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

και νυν – κυριος) α´ και νυν τι μοι ωδε φησι Q σ´θ´ (α´σ´θ´ Eus) και νυν τι εστι μοι ωδε λεγει κυριος Q Eus (Eus omits λεγει κυριος) θαυμ. και ολ.) α´ (οι) εξουσιαζοντες αυτου δακρυουσιν (α´ flebunt Hi) σ´ οι εξουσιαζοντες αυτου ολολυζοντες (σ´ ululabunt Hi) Eus θ´ οι αρχοντες αυτου παρανομουσιν 86
δια παντος – end) α´ ενδελεχως πασαν ημεραν ονομα μου διασυρεται 86 σ´ δια παντος ολην την ημεραν το ονομα μου βασφημειται Eus

Romans 2:23,24 CF: "for . . .as it is written"

23ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως
τοῦ νόμου τὸν θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις
24τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται
ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καθὼς γέγραπται

In this passage, the LXX varies in several significant points from the Hebrew. The last of these variations can be taken to demonstrate that the NT is following the LXX and not the Hebrew. In the LXX, ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι appears at the very end of the passage; for this phrase there is no basis in the Hebrew as we have received it. In this addition, the LXX is followed by the NT; indeed, Paul's application of the passage is enhanced by this very phrase.

It would be easy to conclude that the appropriation of this passage took place only among Greek-speaking Christians, perhaps at Paul's initiative. Yet two reflections of the Hebrew are perhaps to be found in the NT usage. The first centers around the difficult term הֵילִילוּ. After a brief survey of scholarly opinion, James Muilenburg suggests that the verb and its clause should be rendered "Their rulers deal presumptuously (or "boast") continually."[1] This rendering finds support in Romans 2:17-24, where

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[1]James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, p. 609.

the citation is applied to the Jews who "rely upon the law and boast" of their "relation to God," who "know his will and approve what is excellent," who are "instructed in the law." The presumptuousness and boasting of the rulers in II Isaiah finds its parallel in the behaviour of the Jews among the Gentiles in Paul's day. This relationship between the citation and its context would be strengthened by Weiss' punctuation of verse 23.[2] The second element present both in the Hebrew and in the LXX but not in the NT is the phrase "all the day." Though rendered here in the LXX with the incomplete διὰ παντὸς, elsewhere the same phrase is rendered ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν. As noted below, this phrase occurs in Romans 8:26 (/// Psalm 44:22) and 10:21 (/// Isaiah 65:1), and is loaded with eschatological overtones. In these passages, it seems to mean the "day of salvation" before the final Day of the Lord Jesus. The phrase in the Hebrew of Isaiah 52:5 would therefore be meaningful within both the Pauline and pre-Pauline tradition. Both of these aspects indicate that the passage may have been first implemented in the Hebrew, and then re-interpreted, perhaps by Paul, on the basis of the Greek.

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[2] B. Weiss would punctuate the first clause with a period, not a question mark.

Isaiah 52:11 /// II Corinthians 6:17

MT:

סוּרוּ סוּרוּ צְאוּ מִשָּׁם[a] טָמֵא[b] אַל-תִּגָּעוּ
צְאוּ[c] מְתוֹכָהּ הִבָּרוּ נֹשְׂאֵי כְּלֵי יְהוָה׃

[a]IQIs[a] משמה [b]IQIs[a] בטמה
[c]IQIs[a] omits צאו מתוכה

LXX:

ἀπόστητε ἀπόστητε[a]
ἐξέλθατε[b] ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἅπτεσθε[c]
ἐξέλθατε[b] ἐκ μέσου[d] αὐτῆς[e]
ἀφορίσθητε[f] οἱ φέροντες[g] τὰ σκεύη κυρίου[h]

[a]93 544 omit [b]26 V-Q[c]-88-OII L"-86[c]-233 C'-564 εξελθετε [c]O-88 C[-87] 456 538 544 Just Eus αψησθε [d]א του μεσου [e]L'-86[c] 534 Cypr αυτων
[f]In Q OI 22[c]-93-456 564 393 544 Eus preceded by και
[g]147-233 οι αιροντες; 534 omits [h]393 οικου κυριου

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

ακαθαρτου) α΄σ΄ μεμιαμμενου Chr
αφορισθητε) α΄εκλεκτωθητε 86

II Corinthians 6:17 CF: "as God said"

καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι
. . . .
[17]διὸ ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀφορίσθητε λέγει κύριος
καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἅπτεσθε

In this instance, the LXX gives a relatively faithful rendering of the Hebrew. The N. T. citation, however, departs from both in important particulars. The significance of these deviations will be discussed below. Though the N. T. seems to have some relation to the LXX phraseology, the clauses are rearranged, and no one textual tradition is followed. In general, it may be said that the N. T. is much closer to the non-Vaticanus texts than to Vaticanus itself.

The citation is integrally related to its N. T. context. Upon close examination, the section 6:14-7:1 of II Corinthians has been recognized generally as a self-contained unit. The source of this unit and its relation to the preceding and following verses has been the topic of controversy. Many scholars, stressing the lack of coherence between 6:13 and 6:14, and aware of the continuity of sense between 6:13 and 7:2, regard this unit as a fragment of a lost letter, probably the one mentioned in I Corinthians 5:19.[1] On the other hand, both Plummer and Goudge maintain that this unit is an authentic part of this letter, and that it should not be considered a fragment from another letter.[2] Goudge lucidly summarizes

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[1] Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, tr. by William Montgomery (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), pp. 48-49; Kirsopp Lake, The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul: Their Motive and Origin (London: Rivertons, 1911), p. 122f.; James Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, in the International Theological Library (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), p. 125f.; et. al.

[2] Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in The International Critical Commentary, ed. by Francis Brown and Alfred Plummer (New

the arguments for this view: (a) the preservation of such a fragment as this, apart from the rest of the Epistle to which it belongs, is not very probable; nor is it likely that it would have been inserted here; (b) St. Paul is far from being a logical writer, and this Epistle is the least logical in its arrangement of all that he wrote; he is quite without the Greek sense of form; and (c) we know far too little of the exact situation at Corinth, when Paul wrote, to be able to judge whether St. Paul's words are appropriate here or not.[3]

To arrive at some conclusion concerning whether or not this unit is Pauline and also a part of this letter, let us consider these arguments. On the whole, the last of these arguments calls for general agreement; since our knowledge of the Corinthian situation is far from complete, any judgment must be made on the basis of content and form. Since this unit has been ascribed by many to the "lost letter," we may appropriately ask the question: "Does the description in I Corinthians 5:9ff. fit this unit?" The answer is a tentative "No." This unit enjoins withdrawal from the "world"; the contrast between righteousness and lawlessness is sharp, and is to be maintained. However, as Paul says explicitly in I Corinthians 5:9ff., he did not intend to enjoin separation

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York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 204ff.; H. L. Goudge, The Second Epistle to the Corinthians, in the Westminister Commentaries, ed. by Walter Lock and D. C. Simpson (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1927), p. 70f.

[3]Goudge, loc. cit.

from the immoral men in the world, "since then you would need to go out of the world"; rather, he intended to instruct them to "drive out the wicked person" from among the fellowship. Only in this way may this suggestion be supported; this would necessitate a fixed source from which Paul quoted, rather than free composition on his part.

In his second point, Goudge maintains that Paul was far from being a logical writer, and that this letter is the least logical of all his writings. Yet the unit in itself is extremely well-ordered and closely reasoned, and, as we shall see, gives evidence of thorough interpretation and acceptance. Speaking of the phraseology and structure of this unit, Plummer says, "The great variety of expression is no doubt studied."[4]

In regard to Goudge's first point, that the insertion of the fragment is both unlikely at this point and its preservation improbable, one may say two things. First, Paul's statement in 6:12 that the Corinthians were "restricted in their own affections" does give some justification for an insertion, and, secondly, the insertion and preservation of this unit is no more unlikely than the insertion and preservation of the pericope found in John 7:53-8:11.

This unit then is to be considered either as a non-Pauline interpolation or as a misplaced Pauline citation from a pre-Pauline

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[4]Plummer, op. cit., p. 207.

source, with the former being the most probable. The origin of this unit may be surmised from evidence contained within the citation itself.

J. Jeremias, in an article concerning the Qumran community, maintains that that community was "built upon the principle of the separation of the saints from the world. They divided themselves sharply from the sinners." In the same place, he goes on to say that this attitude stands in sharp contrast to that of Jesus.[5] The same contrast is present in Paul, as we have seen from the passage in I Corinthians. In only two places do we find this outlook in the New Testament: in II Corinthians 6:14-7:1 and in the Apocalypse of John of Patmos. Specifically, Isaiah 52:11, which is cited in the passage before us, lies directly behind Revelation 18:4.

This unit is marked by sharp distinctions: between "righteousness" and "iniquity," "light" and "darkness," "Christ" and "Beliar," "believer" and "unbeliever." It is concerned with "defilement of body and spirit." In each of these sharp distinctions may be seen the apocalyptic outlook, both as we see it in the Revelation of John and in the Qumran scrolls.[6] The occurrence of the title "Beliar" is the only one in the N. T.

Other factors support the view that this unit is drawn from apocalyptic or kindred circles. The phrase λέγει κύριος, which

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[5] J. Jeremias, The Expository Times, 70:October, 1958--September, 1959, p. 59.

[6] For the latter, see especially The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness and The Manual of Discipline.

is interwoven with the citation from Isaiah, strongly suggests that its origin is to be found within Christian prophetic utterance, as Ellis suggests;[7] this usage is typical of the Revelation of John. The first introductory formula καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι, not present in Revelation, occurs only in this place. The motif of ναὸς θεοῦ, so visible in Revelation, is present in this unit.[8] Perhaps the most interesting contact between this unit and Revelation is the term παντοκράτωρ, which appears in the last formula. This title for God, which is the Greek rendering of צְבָאוֹת, occurs repeatedly in the Revelation of John;[9] indeed, the clearest indication of its meaning is to be found in the profound affirmation of Revelation 11:17-18. In 10:7, the awesome figure of the mighty angel announces that when the seventh trumpet blows, "the mystery of God, as he announced to his servants the prophets, should be fulfilled." In 11:15, its sounding is related, and "loud voices in heaven" say, "'The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.'" Then the twenty-four elders around the throne affirm this fulfillment with these words, which begin,

> We give thanks to thee, Lord God Almighty (ὁ παντοκράτωρ),
> who art and who wast,

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[7] E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 107ff.

[8] Ellis, ibid., pp. 90, 108.

[9] 1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7,14; 19:6,15; 21:22.

that thou has taken thy great power and begun to reign.[10]

The full meaning of παντοκράτωρ is clear: "the One who controls and rules all things", a definition which includes the active exercise of power.[11] This is the meaning of the formula, an expression which is only extant in material arising from apocalyptic circles.

In the light of these formidable considerations, this unit must be regarded as apocalyptic in origin. If Paul cited this unit in his first letter to the Corinthians, he cites it from such a source. If, as is more probable, this unit is considered to be non-Pauline, then the apocalyptic origin is just as acceptable. If this unit is regarded as being formulated prior to Paul in apocalyptic circles, its measured structure and its rich content is understandable.

Such a view, in addition, offers an explanation for another factor present in this citation. The fused citations in this section, including the one from Isaiah, are characterized not only by this apocalyptic outlook but by indications of considerable interpretation, alteration, and adaptation of the text. These modifications are worked into the text itself. In the citation from Isaiah, the inclusion of the particle διὸ and the conjunction καὶ, the modification of the LXX reading αὐτῆς to αὐτῶν, and the selective rearrangement of the text illustrate this process; the presence of modifications in the other citations and the inclusion

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[10] 11:17

[11] C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954), p. 19.

of three introductory formulae give added evidence.

Did such interpretation and modification of the texts occur in a formal school? It would seem that it did not. The apocalyptic outlook, as it is found in the Revelation of John, is not based primarily on scribal study; rather, through the processes of devotion, meditation, worship, hymnody, and prophetic utterance, accepted material from Scripture was reworked. No explicit citations from Scripture are to be found in the Apocalypse; yet no book in the New Testament is more saturated with Old Testament phraseology, language and motifs than the Revelation of John. This insight, and the inferences drawn from this citation and its context, may prove invaluable when a full discussion of the Sitz im Leben of the citations and the processes of transmission is undertaken.

In several citations appearing in Paul's works, the eschatological background behind the citations has been recognized. Since this is the only citation presently found in Paul's letters which can be traced directly to an apocalyptic source, it is extremely important.

Isaiah 52:15 /// Romans 15:20,21

MT:

כֵּן יַזֶּה[a] גּוֹיִם[b] רַבִּים עָלָיו יִקְפְּצוּ[c] מְלָכִים פִּיהֶם[d]
כִּי אֲשֶׁר[e] לֹא[g]סֻפַּר[h] לָהֶם[i] רָאוּ וַאֲשֶׁר[j] לֹא־[k]שָׁמְעוּ הִתְבּוֹנָנוּ׃

[a]see footnote number one [b]IQIs[a] גואים [c]IQIs[a] וקפצו
[d]IQIs[a] פהמה [e]IQIs[a] כיא [f]IQIs[a] את אשר
[g]IQIs[a] לוא [h]IQIs[a] סופר [i]IQIs[a] להמה
[j]IQIs[a] ואת אשר [k]IQIs[a] לוא

LXX:

οὕτως[a] θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ[b]
καὶ συνέξουσι[c] βασιλεῖς[d] τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν
ὅτι ὃις οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται
καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασι[e] συνήσουσι

[a]B C readουτω [b]86* αυτον [c]A OI 410 Syh συναξουσι
[d]Syp βασιλεις επ αυτω [e]V 22 ακοασι

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

θαυμασονται) α΄θ΄ ραντισει σ΄ αποβα(λ)λει
συνεξουσι) α΄ συντελεσουσιν

Romans 15:20,21 CF: "as it is written"

20 οὕτως δὲ φιλοτιμούμενον[a] εὐαγγελίζεσθαι οὐχ ὅπου
ὠνομάσθη Χριστός ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον
οἰκοδομῶ
21 ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται

[b-]ὄψονται οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ[b]
καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν συνήσουσιν

[a]$\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ B D* G φιλοτιμουμαι
[b-b]$\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ Hez Koine D G pl transpose 234561

The LXX rendering deviates from the MT in several important respects: the masculine plural relative pronoun οἳ renders the indefinite אֲשֶׁר, thus changing the subject of the clause; the Hebrew term לָהֶם is omitted to conform with this change; and the phrase περὶ αὐτοῦ is inserted in the first clause to make this change complete. In all of these the NT follows the LXX. Therefore, the textual basis of this NT passage seems to be the LXX, though admittedly exegetical interest is also present.[2]

Some question is present as to which MSS. are to be followed in determining the word order of the first half of the citation. Codex B reads ὄψονται first; all other uncials preserve the word order of the LXX. Although the reading of B is unique, and commands some respect on that basis, it may also be viewed as an improvement on the text, by seeking to place the principle verb

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[1]The meaning of this term is somewhat obscure. Since this portion of the verse is not directly involved in our discussion, the citation of two discussions of this term will suffice: Christopher R. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah: An Historical and Critical Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 123, and James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)" in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, pp. 617-618.

[2]See E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 143.

which includes the subject before the relative. The exceedingly strong witnesses for the non-Vaticanus reading are significant, and their importance is buttressed by the fact that the non-Vaticanus reading is also that of the LXX. The point of Paul's application places the emphasis on those who have not heard the message of Christ; therefore, this application gives greatest credence to the non-Vaticanus reading, since in this form the emphasis would fall upon the relative clause. All of these factors indicate that the NT Mss. which preserve the LXX word order should be favored.

Paul directly relates this citation to the proclamation of the gospel of Christ. Moreover, he specifically applies it to his own particular sense of mission. Paul has made it his ambition to preach the gospel, not where the proclamation has been made and received, but where Christ has not been made known. He specifically cites this Scripture to support this peculiar calling. From Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum he had preached the word. To be sure he had not preached in every city and hamlet, and this he did not intend to do. Rather, once proclaimed, the word would be effectively at work through those who first received it. The citation provided the basis for Paul's missionary method.[3]

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[3]So C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in Black's New Testament Commentaries, Henry Chadwick, gen. ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957), p. 277; Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, Tenth Edition (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), p. 330. Michel's entire treatment, pp. 325-330, is incisive.

The citation is taken from a section of Second Isaiah which deals with the Servant of Yahweh. To what extent and in what sense is the context involved here? Isaiah 52:13, which initiates the "servant song," says, "Behold, my servant shall prosper, He shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high." In Romans 15:8 Paul says that "Christ became a servant to the circumcised," and the note of exaltation may be reflected through the New Testament writings. Isaiah 52:15 begins, "so shall many nations [Gentiles] look upon him with amazement"[4]; in Romans 15:9-12,16,18,19 Paul deals with this theme extensively. In Romans 10:16 Paul cites Isaiah 53:1, and relates the citation to the proclamation of the gospel of Christ. Isaiah 52:7, which appears in the section immediately preceding this citation, in Romans 10:15 is related to the work of the preacher in the most intimate way. Thus it may be said that most definitely here and elsewhere the context of this citation is in Paul's mind. Yet care must be exercised. Although the idea of "servant" is present in Romans 15:8, Paul significantly uses neither the term παῖς nor the term δοῦλος, preferring instead the innocuous Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι ; in addition, the note of suffering is absent in this instance. Only the theme of the significance and purpose of the preaching of the gospel is present in all of these citations. Therefore, caution in evaluating these citations and allusions must be exercised not only at this point,

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[4]So North, op. cit., pp. 121,123 following the LXX.

but throughout this study. The emphasis on preaching and the mission to the Gentiles is clear throughout verses 7-22 of this chapter.

The eschatological framework of this sense of mission on Paul's part should be noted. Not only in other contexts is preaching for Paul a function carried out in an eschatological framework, but here especially is this the case. In Isaiah the words cited have heavy eschatological overtones; they embody the expression of the great reversal which is to take place shortly.[5] For Paul this prophecy, with all of its eschatological overtones, is being fulfilled through his work.[6] As Michel rightly states, "Nicht ein persoenlicher Ehrgeiz steht hinter seiner Mission, sonden ein ganz bestimmter eschatologischer Auftrag."[7]

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[5]See Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 618.

[6]Michel, loc. cit.

[7]Michel, ibid.

Isaiah 53:1 /// Romans 10:15,16; John 12:37,38

MT:

מִי֙ הֶאֱמִ֣ין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵ֔נוּ[a] וּזְרוֹעַ֙ יְהוָ֔ה עַל־מִ֥[b] נִגְלָתָֽה׃

[a] IQIs[a] לשמועתנו [b] IQIs[a] אל

LXX:

κύριε
τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν
καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου[a] τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη[b]

[a] 88 επι τινι [b] א* απεκαλυφη

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

τινι) θ΄ επι (α΄θ΄※ επι Q Syh) α΄σ΄ τινα 86

Romans 10:15,16 CF: "for Isaiah says"

15 πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν καθάπερ
γέγραπται ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένον
16 ἀγαθά ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
'Ησαιας γὰρ λέγει
κύριε τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν

John 12:37,38 CF: "that the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled when he said"

37 τοσαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ σημεῖα πεποιηκότος ἔμπροσθεν
αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν εἰς αὐτόν

38 ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ
ὃν εἶπεν
κύριε τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν
καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη

In two places the LXX departs from the Masoretic Text, and in both the LXX is followed by the N. T. citations. For the difficult עַל-מִי the LXX renders τίνι; in addition, the LXX inserts the vocative κύριε at the beginning of the verse without any basis in the Hebrew as it now stands. The fact that the N. T. follows the LXX in these two deviations indicates that the N. T. authors were using this version. Since there are no significant variations within the LXX Mss., no further conclusions can be drawn.

Significant inferences may be made from this citation, not only as it appears in the context of Paul and John, but as the usage in each is compared and contrasted. We have already had some occasion to examine the context of Romans 10:16. Paul is dealing with τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν , and with the response--either of belief or unbelief--which that event evokes. Verses 14 and 15 are devoted to demonstrating the accessibility of the "word." This citation follows; it is used as Scriptural support for the fact that "not all have heeded the gospel."

It seems clear that in this passage Paul is reflecting the theological foundation for the proclamation of the kerygma, a foundation which provided not only the motive but the justification for its response, whether it be belief or unbelief. Verses 9-13

certainly have an almost creedal ring, and the manner in which Paul proceeds to give the rationale for preaching points in the same direction. We have already seen how Isaiah 52:7, as cited in verse 15, found its place in the apologetic of the primitive church; Isaiah 53:1, in verse 16, is no less a part of that apologetic.

The language of 53:1, as related to the context of Romans 10, gives added support to this inference. The verb πιστεύω occupies a central place in New Testament terminology.[1] The object τῇ ἀκοῇ, especially in Paul, signifies not just "report," but particularly the hearing of the gospel proclamation.[2] The presence of this connotation is clearly indicated: ἄρα ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ. The pronoun ἡμῶν is bound by the context to κηρύσσοντες and the subject of the verb κηρύξωσιν of verses 15,16. Even the vocative may be regarded as being addressed not to God,[3] but to the Risen and Sovereign Lord of the church and its

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[1]See W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of the Fourth German Edition of Walter Bauer's Griechisch Deutsches Woerterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der uebrigen urchristlichen Literatur (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 665-669, for a discussion of this verb.

[2]Galatians 3:2,5; I Thessalonians 2:13. So also Hans Lietzmann, Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus, Part I: Die Vier Hauptbriefe, Vol. III in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), p. 56; Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, in the Tenth Edition of the Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), pp. 230-231.

[3]Michel, Ibid., p. 231.

preachers.[4]

Even after such a brief discussion, it is clear that here we are dealing with a text which plays its part in supporting and explaining the proclamation of the gospel and its reception.

Paul quoted only the first portion of Isaiah 53:1, for he was concerned with ἀκοῇ , and it seems likely that the text was used in this connection in the pre-Pauline Christian apologetic. In the Gospel of John, not only the first portion but the second as well is quoted. To what may we attribute this difference? It may be attributed to a different interpretative purpose. John was not concerned primarily with the first phrase; he did not share Paul's concern for explaining the lack of response to missionary preaching. Rather, John's emphasis rests upon the last phrase, καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;

The significance of the citation is clearly indicated by the Evangelist; the Scripture text provided divine explanation for the fact that "though he had done so many signs before them, yet they did not believe in him."[5] In fact, the necessity for the fulfillment of this Scripture is the basis for their unbelief.[6] Whereas Paul interpreted the unbelief of the Jews as the necessary condition for the salvation of the Gentiles,[7] John in his Gospel considers the

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[4]This suggestion is made more likely by the usage of the title elsewhere in Paul and in the other New Testament writings, and especially in the light of Romans 10:9-13.

[5]John 12:37

[6]John 12:39

[7]E.g., Romans 11

unbelief of the Jews to be a necessary condition for the fulfillment of Scripture. For Paul a time of belief on the part of the Jews was yet to come, but for John their unbelief was irreversible. This understanding on the part of John is clearly indicated by the introductory phrase, ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαιου...πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν ,[8] the following phrase διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἠδύναυτο πιστεύειν, and by the quotation from Isaiah 6:10 which follows.

The term βραχίων κυρίου has deep roots in the Old Testament from which it derives its meaning. Deuteronomy speaks of Yahweh as taking a nation for himself "by trials, by signs, by wonders, by war, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm."[9] The same connection with the working of wonders and the deliverance from Egypt is found in Psalm 77:15,16 (76:15,16),

> Thou are the God who workest wonders,
> who has manifested thy might among the peoples.
> Thou didst with thy arm redeem thy people,
> the sons of Jacob and Joseph.

In Psalm 89:11 (88:11) the "arm of Yahweh" is brought into close connection with the destruction of Rahab, and in verse 11 of the same Psalm it is employed with relation to the stability of the Davidic dynasty. All of these connotations Second Isaiah gathers together, and throughout his great work presents this figure of "the arm of the Lord."[10] Perhaps no passage in the Old Testament is more meaningful

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[8]John 12:38.

[9]Deuteronomy 4:34.

[10]Isaiah 40:11; 48:14; 51:5,9; 52:10; cf. 59:16; 62:8; 63:5,12.

in regard to this concept than the fervent invocation of Isaiah 51:9,

> Awake, awake, put on strength,
> O arm of the Lord;
> awake, as in days of old,
> the generations of long ago.

This verse is followed immediately with allusions both to the conflict with Rahab and with the deliverance through the sea from Egypt. The term ὁ βραχίων therefore signifies the power and might[11] of Yahweh, which when exercised results in signs and wonders and mighty deliverance for His people. It is therefore the overwhelming "instrument of redemption."[12]

This redemptive activity, according to John, is at work in Jesus.[13] To those who believe in him, in him ὁ βραχίων is revealed. In the Magnificat,[14] the same conviction appears. The signs and wonders make manifest the work of God; Jesus, before healing the man born blind says, "It was not that this man sinned, or his parents, but that the works of God might be made manifest

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[11] In Psalm 71:18 (70:18LXX), the LXX translates the Hebrew גְּבוּרָתְךָ with τὸν βραχίονά σου , thus demonstrating the affinity between the two terms. Note also the close relationship between the co-ordinate clauses found in Isaiah 40:10.

[12] So James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, p. 432.

[13] e.g., John 20:31

[14] Luke 1:51

in him."[15] To John and the other disciples of Jesus, the significance of the miracles was clear; to the Jews, it was not. Therefore, according to Scripture, God had blinded their eyes.[16]

After this brief analysis of the two passages, how may we assess the two with regard to the question concerning their place in the Christian tradition? We may readily say that Paul's usage directly reflects the usage of this text in the tradition. What may we say about the Johannine usage? First, the fact that the citation and its significance is an expression of the conviction of the Evangelist should be noted. It does not presume to be otherwise. The words are not attributed to Jesus; in fact, the Evangelist explicitly says that Jesus had withdrawn and hidden himself. Jesus is spoken of in the third person by the Evangelist. The citation, with the exception of John 12:44-50, marks the close of Jesus' public ministry. The phrase ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ has a definite telic force,[17] and reflects the utmost concern of the early Christians for searching the Scriptures in order to find prophecies which had their fulfillment in their Risen Lord.[18] Definitely the citations were implemented by the Evangelist or his community. These words can only represent the interpretation of the

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[15] John 9:3

[16] See, e.g., John 9:39-41

[17] So J. H. Bernard, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John, in the International Critical Commentary, ed. by A. H. McNeile (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), I, p. 449; et. al.

[18] John 6:39: "it is they (the scriptures) that bear witness to me."

primitive Christian community.

Secondly, the title κύριος should be noted in the citation, especially in the portion which is especially relevant to John's purpose. It has already been suggested that Paul in his usage of the first portion addresses the citation to the Risen Lord, and some evidence has been adduced for this suggestion. In the Johannine usage of the second portion the same referent for κύριος is present. The phrase ὁ βραχ. κυρίου in the Old Testament meant "the arm of the Lord (God)," but in the New Testament tradition the phrase has taken on, with the identification of the Risen One with the Lord, the meaning "the arm of the (Risen) Lord." There can be no doubt that in the Johannine gospel this identification is present; not only is the title used to address Jesus throughout the gospel, but Jesus himself according to John explicitly accepts the title.[19]

Thirdly, the background and source of this citation in the pre-Johannine tradition should be sought. Does this application represent the creative interpretative work of John, in the sense that he not only applied the citation but also selected it from Second Isaiah? Or did this citation have some other application before John, which was modified and recast by him? What is the relationship between the Pauline usage in Romans 10:16 and the Johannine usage in this passage? Are they the same, or, if not, where do they differ? These are important questions for the understanding

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[19]John 13:13: "You call me Teacher and Lord; and you are right, for so I am (ὑμεῖς φωνεῖτέ με ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος, καὶ καλῶς λέγετε εἰμὶ γάρ)."

of the development of Christian apologetic and interpretation. Let us begin by asking, "Why did John cite the first portion of this citation, when it was not directly applicable to his purpose?" In part it was, for the verb πιστεύω in the first phrase is not unrelated to the principle verbs of verses 37 and 39, and the same verb finds it greatest usage throughout John's gospel.[20] Notwithstanding, the vocative κύριε and objective phrase τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν does not fit the Johannine context. Who is speaking? What is the referent of ἡμῶν? What place does τῇ ἀκοῇ have within the narration of the words and works of Jesus the Christ? Each of these is highly appropriate in the Pauline context, where they are used in reference to the preaching of the Christian heralds, but what possible application could they have here? There seems to be none. Yet why did John cite this portion, instead of deleting it as inappropriate? The presence of πιστεύω does not furnish sufficient reason.

Paul was appropriating his citation from the theological groundwork for the missionary preaching of the early church. Both the immediate context and the implied answer to the citation indicates this. It is likely that, having received this portion of scripture from the Christian tradition, John did not delete it. Did the second portion also stand in the received and accepted source? The answer is difficult.

Examination will show that the content of the complete citation

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[20] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., pp. 665-666.

was meaningful to the early church. In the citation two elements are present: "seeing" and "hearing." Both of these elements find expression throughout the Gosepl of John, but their elaboration is too extensive to examine at this time. With respect to "hearing," John speaks of Jesus as ὁ λόγος,[21] of the significance of hearing the "words" of Jesus, and through Jesus, of the Father,[22] of the significance of knowing the "voice" of Jesus.[23] With respect to "seeing," John speaks of "sight" and "blindness," concepts which are spiritualized in the episode of the healing of the man born blind;[24] he speaks of "light" and "darkness,"[25] of the certainty of "seeing" the Father in him,[26] of those who are blessed because they have not "seen," yet believe.[27] This pair of "seeing" and "hearing" permeates and saturates the Gospel of John. In addition, the motif appears throughout the Acts and Paul in reference to the missionary preaching. In Acts 13:47, a citation already discussed,[28] Paul according to Luke cites Isaiah 49:6, and interprets his mission as being "a light for the Gentiles." The Acts is one continuous narration of preaching the "word" and of its reception, supported

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[21] 1:1,14.

[22] E.g., 3:34; 6:68; 8:31-47; 12:44-50.

[23] E.g., 10:3-5, 13-14, 26-28

[24] 9:1-40; 10:21; 12:39-40

[25] 1:4-9; 3:19-21; 8:12; 9:4-5; 12:35-36,46

[26] 14:8,9; 1:18

[27] 20:29

[28] See above

by the working of "wonders" and "signs," all of which are interpreted in the light of Joel 2:28-32.[29] Paul, in Romans 15:21, expresses the same motif of "seeing" and "hearing" in a citation, discussed above, which inseparably interweaves the two:

> They shall see who have never been told of him,
> and they shall understand who have never heard of him.[30]

Though this is not an exhaustive treatment of the material, it is clear that within the context of the proclamation of the glorified Lord these two elements of "seeing" and "hearing" were present.

Likewise, the interpretation of "signs" as divine attestations of the historical ministry of Jesus and of the authority and person of Jesus, found here and throughout the Gospel of John, is not absent elsewhere in the New Testament. Acts 2:22 clearly expresses this interpretation of signs and wonders with reference to the historical acts of Jesus. The same interpretation, arising apparently out of the missionary proclamation, may also be seen as the background for the "works of power" related so tersely by Mark. Paul does not appear to have accepted this interpretation. For Paul, it was not signs and wonders wrought by Jesus which denoted his authority; rather, it was the Resurrection from the dead which furnished this attestation.[31] He did accept signs and wonders as attestations of the presence of the Risen Lord in the course of his missionary work, attestations which he himself

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[29] Acts 2:14-22

[30] Isaiah 52:15; see pp. 101-105 above.

[31] Romans 1:4; cf. I Tim. 3:16

cited to support his apostleship.[32] But with regard to the authority of Jesus, the Resurrection was the crucial "sign."

Therefore, the interpretation of "signs" in John and elsewhere as attestations of the divine power provides a suitable context for the application of the phrase καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη in the citation before us. But does this interpretation necessitate this Scripture? The answer is certainly no. The first portion may have stood alone in pre-Johannine tradition. Though Paul's usage cannot be used to support this inference, the considerations advanced above and the double occurrence of κύριος--one in the vocative and the other in the genetive--makes it likely. In this case, the second portion was employed by John or his community to indicate the lack of insight concerning the "signs" which Jesus wrought; the first portion, though not in direct conflict, was somewhat incompatible, and was included chiefly because of its long acceptance in apostolic usage.

Since this discussion has been somewhat extended, and has explored diverse aspects of this citation, it would be well at this point to summarize the inferences made:

First, the text of both citations follows the LXX tradition. However, it is not possible to determine the particular version followed.

Secondly, the first portion of this scripture passage--Isaiah 52:1a--was part of the Scriptural Grundlage for apostolic missionary

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[32] Romans 15:18-19.

preaching.

Thirdly, Paul received the citation and, with relative fidelity to its pre-Pauline context, applied it to support the lack of response to the apostolic preaching. Therefore, he did not originate the application found in Romans 10:16.

Fourthly, John, receiving on one hand the interpretation of 52:1a from the tradition and on the other hand wishing to implement 52:1b in a similar way, retained 52:1a. Like Luke and perhaps Mark, John interpreted the works of power of the historical ministry of Jesus as "signs" in which the authenticating power of God was at work for those who could perceive. The lack of response to these "signs," as he interpreted them, called for an explanation, and this John found in 52:1b, a passage deeply rooted in Old Testament Scripture. That 52:1b did not stand with 52:1a in the Scriptural Grundlage of the apostolic preachers is supported by these considerations: (1) the citation and its context is editorial and interpretative, arising within the early community; (2) the title κύριος refers not to Yahweh but to the Risen Lord, an identification appearing throughout the Gospel; (3) the interpretation of "signs" involved in the usage of 52:1b is not shared by other New Testament writers, e.g., Paul; (4) the vocative form κύριε and the almost reflective genetive form κυρίου indicates a shift of address which would be difficult in the Grundlage but acceptable in John; and (5) 52:1b is neither quoted nor reflected elsewhere in the New Testament, a difficulty hard to explain if it were present in the Scriptural Grundlage.

We must not permit these considerations to obscure an extremely important point. Both in John and in Paul this Scripture is used with respect to the response given by persons to Jesus, though in Paul the response is called forth by preaching and in John by the "signs" which Jesus performs. There is no connection whatever between this usage and the motif of the Suffering Servant, in spite of the fact that this passage comes near the beginning of the greatest of the "servant songs" of Second Isaiah. Judging from this citation, the motif was absent in the apostolic Grundlage, as well as in these two extant documents.

Isaiah 53:4a,b /// Matthew 8:17

MT:

אָבֵן חֳלָיֵנוּ[a] הוּא[b] נָשָׂא וּמַכְאֹבֵינוּ[c] סְבָלָם[d]

[a]IQIs[a] חולינו [b]IQIs[a] הואה [c]IQIs[a] ומכאובינו
[d]Syriac, Vulgate, about 20 MSS insert הוא

LXX:

οὗτος[a] τὰς ἁμαρτίας[b] ἡμῶν φέρει
καὶ περὶ[c] ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται[d]

[a]88 Syh[mg] αυτος [b]L'(22*)-62-96 449′ Ath Tht μαλακιας;
22[c] 93 ασθενειας [c]OII 147 239′ υπερ
[d]147-456 ουδυναται

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

σ′ (α′ 86) ουτως (ουτως αυτος 86) τας νοσους (αμαρτιας Pr) ημων αυτος (86 omits)αναλαβε(ν) και τους πονους (πολεμους 86) ημων (Eus Pr omit) υπεμεινεν ημεις

Matthew 8:17 CF: "this was to fulfill the word which was spoken through the prophet Isaiah"

αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν
καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν

That the New Testament citation is not taken from the LXX is absolutely clear. What then was its source? Lohmeyer maintains that the citation is another appearance of a supposed "Galilean

tradition,"[1] but this contention springs more from his assumptions than from the evidence. Other suggestions are at hand: T. H. Robinson and A. H. McNeile maintain that the citation was taken from a collection of testimonia.[2] The fact that this is the only occurrence of this particular citation makes this unlikely, however. The two hypotheses which claim the most respect yet remain. E. Klostermann maintained that the citation was taken from an unidentified tradition of the original text, received by the author of the Gospel of Matthew in Greek.[3] Krister Stendahl took the position that the citation represents an independent translation by Matthew of the Hebrew text. His view is based upon the fact that the LXX and the Targum Jonathan agree against the New Testament, that the Greek verbs involved in the N. T. citation correspond to Matthew's phraseology, and that the citation is closely linked up with the New Testament context.[4] Though by no means

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[1]Ernst Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthaeus, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, ed. H. A. W. Meyer (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956), p. 161.

[2]T. H. Robinson, The Gospel of Matthew, in The Moffatt New Testament Commentary series, ed. James Moffatt (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co. Inc., 1928), p. 72. A. H. McNeile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices (London: Macmillan and Co., 1949), p. 30. Robinson maintained that the testimonia were originally Hebrew, McNeile that they were Aramaic.

[3]Erich Klostermann, Das Matthaeusevangelium, in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament series, Hans Lietzmann, ed. (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1938), p. 76.

[4]Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954), p. 106f., 200.

is any of the evidence conclusive, the most probable position is that of Stendahl.

The meaning of the citation in the New Testament context is far more important for our purposes than its source. Although a few scholars have sought to maintain that the motif of the vicariously suffering Servant of Yahweh was present in this citation,[5] the large majority of scholars rightly maintain with C. G. Montefiore that, "the entire quotation from Isaiah may . . . mean no more than that Jesus took away and removed men's diseases."[6] As Klostermann pointed out, the passage from Isaiah was so understood by the

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[5]C. F. Keil, Kommentar ueber das Evangelium des Matthaeus (Leipzig: Doerffling und Franke, 1877), p. 223; Theodor Zahn, Das Evangelium des Matthaeus Ausgelegt, Vol. I in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1903), pp. 342-343; Josef Schmid, Das Evangelium nach Matthaeus, in Das Neue Testament, eds. Alfred Witenhauser and Otto Russ (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1952), p. 135. None of these men give evidence for their views.

[6]C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (second edition; London: Macmillan and Co., 1927), II, p. 131. So also E. Klostermann, op. cit., p. 76; A. H. McNeile, op. cit., p. 108; W. C. Allen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew, in The International Critical Commentary series (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p. 80; H. A. W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament, Part I: The Gospel of Matthew, trans. Wm. P. Dickson et. al. (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1877), I, p. 256; Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, p. 31; Alfred Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Matthew (London: Elliot Stock, 1910), p. 128. Robinson, loc. cit., regards this citation as a messianic interpretation which is characteristically Christian, in that the earliest occurrence in Jewish literature of this interpretation is in the book of Enoch.

rabbis.[7] Indeed, as the context in Matthew clearly indicates, the passage was cited in such a way as to show that the compassionate healing ministry of Jesus was the fulfillment of the prophecy contained in the citation.[8] The citation itself was extracted completely from its context in Second Isaiah. A similar saying and usage is found in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, where Joseph speaks of his care for his brethren after Jacob's death, "all their suffering was my suffering, and all their sickness (μαλακία) was my infirmity (ἀσθένεια)."[9] The motif of the vicariously suffering Servant of God is not then involved in this citation.

This conclusion, along with other evidence, will have great significance for any consideration of the possible presence of the motif of the vicariously suffering Servant in the N. T. with reference to Jesus and his passion. This passage does not preclude this interpretation elsewhere, but it does demonstrate, first, that the passage was known at least within specific circles of the Christian tradition, and, second, that its absence elsewhere within the tradition militates against the opinion that the above motif was used with reference to Jesus.

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[7] E. Klostermann, loc. cit., citing Strack-Billerbach, Vol. I, p. 481f.

[8] 8:16b,17. ". . . he cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all who were sick. This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah, 'He took our infirmities and bore our diseases.'"

[9] Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs 17:7, cited by Plummer, loc. cit.

Isaiah 53:7d,e,8a,b,c /// Acts 8:32-33

MT:

7 כַּשֶּׂה לַטֶּבַח[a] יוּבָל וּכְרָחֵל[b] לִפְנֵי גֹזְזֶיהָ[c] נֶאֱלָמָה
וְלֹא[d] יִפְתַּח[e] פִּיו׃[f]
8 מֵעֹצֶר[g] וּמִמִּשְׁפָּט לֻקָּח[h] וְאֶת-דּוֹרוֹ[i] מִי׃[j] יְשׂוֹחֵחַ
כִּי[k] נִגְזַר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים

[a] IQIs[a], IQIs[b] לטבוח [b] IQIs[a] כרחל [c] IQIs[a] גוזזיה
[d] IQIs[a] ולוא [e] IQIs[a] פתח [f] IQIs[a] פיהו
[g] IQIs[a] * מעוצ, ר inserted interlinearly by original hand
[h] IQIs[a] לוקח; IQIs[b] לקחו [i] prps דרכו
[j] IQIs[a] מיא [k] IQIs[a] כיא

LXX:

7 ὡς πρόβατον ἐπι σφαγὴν ἤχθη
καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον[a] τοῦ κείροντος[b] αὐτὸν[c] ἄφωνος
οὕτως[d] οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ
8 ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει[e] ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ[f] ἤρθη[g]
τὴν[h] γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται
ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ[i] αὐτοῦ
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου[j] ἤχθη[k] εἰς θάνατον

[a] LIII[-93]-62 449′ εναντι [b,c] A′ V 763-62-86[c]-233[txt]-956 Barn Clem Rom Orig κειραντος
[c] ℵ* B-OI C[-309] 410 544 958 Clem Rom Just Orig Eus Tert Cypr Hi omit
[d] V-88 51[c]-233 αυτος [e] L′-147-46-86[c]-233 764 403′ 407 534 Co Syp Just Ath εν τη ταπ. αυτου
[f] 106 omits [g] ℵ* ηχθη
[h] 26-86-106 V 147-36-93-46-456 309 239′ 403 407 534 Bo Eus Ath Cyr[lem] την δε [i] V ζωης [j] Syp αυτου; Co (Sap) Ath omit
[k] Q[mg] LI-86[c]-233 449′ Bo Syh[mg] Syp Clem Rom Tht ηκει

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

και - ηχθη) σ´ (א 86) προσηχθη (προσηνεχθη Eus) και αυτος ηκουσεν (υπηκ. Eus) και ουκ ηνοιξεν το στομα αυτου 86 (omits το στ. αυτου) Eus; σ´θ´ audiens non aperuit os suum Hi σ´θ´ ut victima ad sacrificium (σ´ εις θυσιαν 86) venit Chr η κρ. αυτου ηρθη) σ´και απο κριτηριου εληφθη Tht την γενεαν - διηγ.) α´ την γενεαν αυτου τις εξομιλησει Eus οτι - end) α´ οτι απετμηθη απο γης ζωντων απο αθεσιας λαου μου ηψατο αυτων 86 σ´ (σ´θ´ 86) απετμηθη γαρ (86 omits) εκ γης ζωντων και (86 omits) δια την αδικιαν του λαου μου (σ´ δια την αδ. - μου Chr) πληγη αυτοις 86 Eus θ´ οτι απετμηθη απο γης ζωντων απο αθεσιας του λαου μου ηψατο αυτων Eus

Acts 8:32-33 CF: None as such-contained in narration.

32 ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη
καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος[a] αὐτὸν ἄφωνος
οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ
33 ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει[b] ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη
τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται
ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς[c] γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ

[a]B 81 Koine al κειραντος [b]C Koine E pl ταπ. αυτου
[c]Koine E pl Ir[lat] της δε

A comparison of the above will indicate that the New Testament is here, as in so many citations, following the LXX tradition. Though the New Testament variants are without special significance, it may be noted that Codex Alexandrinus is consistent in both the LXX and the NT in its reading of καίραντος; indeed, the corrector of Aleph in the LXX may have been influenced in his decision not only by the reading of most of the MSS. in the New

Testament but also by the reading of **A** in the LXX.[1] In addition, the inclusion of αὐτοῦ in the New Testament, omitted by Vaticanus and the original text of Aleph in the LXX, demonstrates that the NT is following the tradition of **A** or one similar to it.

This usage of the LXX text in preference to the MT is of great significance when we compare the two, and examine the context of the passage within the New Testament document and tradition. The Revised Standard Version translates the Masoretic Text as follows,

> He was oppressed, and he was afflicted,
> yet he opened not his mouth;
> like a lamb that is led to the slaughter,
> and like a sheep that before its shearers is dumb,
> so he opened not his mouth.
> By oppression and judgment he was taken away;
> and as for his generation, who considered
> that he was cut off out of the land of the living,
> stricken for the transgression of my people?

In contrast, the same version of the New Testament reads,

> As a sheep led to the slaughter
> or a lamb before its shearer is dumb,
> so he opens not his mouth.
> In his humiliation justice was denied him.
> Who can describe his generation?
> For his life is taken up from the earth.

Though a transposition of "sheep" and "lamb" has taken place, by far the most significant variations are to be found in the last three lines of the New Testament text.

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[1] Since a tendency toward improvement of the text seems to be present in the Koine in the NT, it is not impossible that the correct NT reading should be κείραντος, in agreement with P53, Aleph, A, C, E, and H, witnesses which range from the III to the IX Century, largely from the Alexandrian and Western traditions. The strongest of these, excluding A, are P53 and Aleph.

Unfortunately, these verses are exceedingly obscure. This obscurity is present not only in the English translation, but in the Greek translation of the Hebrew, and even the Hebrew itself.[2] It cannot be denied, however, that these verses had great significance for the early Christians. How may we approach these verses in an effort to grasp the Christian meaning with which they were filled? W. L. Knox is right in maintaining that this prophecy was one of the most important for the New Testament Christians,[3] but he refrains from discussing the particular interpretation placed upon it.

The context in the Book of Isaiah is clear. These verses form a part of what modern scholars call the greatest of the "Servant Songs." For modern scholars these "songs" present the picture of one especially chosen and commissioned by Yahweh for a special task, at the heart of which was vicarious suffering for the sins of Israel and the nations, by which Israel and the Gentiles would receive forgiveness and renewal. For a number of years modern scholars have carried over this context into the discussion of the

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[2]Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, English Translation and Commentary of The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, ed. by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933), IV, p. 97; G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Acts of the Apostles (Introduction and Exegesis)," The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. IX, eds. George A. Buttrick, Noland B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1954), p. 115.

[3]W. L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1948), p. 72f.; Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1942 (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 16.

New Testament citations.[4] This is rarely accomplished with any supporting evidence; rather, the presupposition is made that this motif is applicable, then the interpretation is presented as a logical conclusion. This is especially true with respect to the vicarious aspect of the servant's task. Once the title or term "servant" makes its appearance, it seems that almost immediately the implication of vicarious suffering is discovered.

No doubt the title "servant" was used with reference to Jesus. There is no doubt whatever that in Luke-Acts this motif makes its appearance; in fact, the second and third chapters of Acts are prime sources for a study of the "servant" motif, whatever that may imply. It does not follow, however, that this "servant" is the vicariously suffering servant of Isaiah 53. That fact can only be established by evidence derived from particular scriptural contexts.

This citation is one of the two instances where Isaiah 53 is clearly cited or alluded to in the New Testament; it is therefore of great significance in seeking to answer the question whether this "servant" motif includes vicarious suffering, or not. Does this implication appear in this passage? The unequivocal answer to this question, with reference to this citation,

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[4]For example, see Vincent Taylor, The Person of Christ in New Testament Teaching (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1958), p. 29-30.

is "NO!" As evidence, several considerations may be advanced. First, the verses in Isaiah 53 which are heavily burdened with the motif of vicarious suffering[5] are completely omitted.[6] It may be argued that this is not intentional, but close examination will show that the citation as we now have it in Acts closes abruptly, seemingly by intention omitting the next phrase, though syntactically a part of the sentence. Second, we have already seen that one of these verses, Isaiah 53:4a,b, is interpreted elsewhere in the New Testament in a strictly non-vicarious sense. Third, the avoidance of all hints of vicarious suffering which we observe here in Acts is also present in the Gospel of Luke.[7] Fourth, the emphasis here, as elsewhere in the New Testament, is not upon vicarious suffering for the sins of others, but upon humiliation and exaltation,[8] a theme which finds broad support throughout the early chapters of the Acts. This theme is supported especially by the citation itself in the LXX form: "in his humiliation justice was denied him," but "his life is taken up from the earth." For the first, the best commentary would be the narrative of the arrest and trial of Jesus

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[5]Verses 4ab, 5abcd, 8d, 11d, 12ef.

[6]Kirsopp Lake and Henry Cadbury, loc. cit.; G. H. C. Macgregor, loc. cit.; F. C. Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), p. 35.

[7]Lake and Cadbury, loc. cit.; Macgregor, loc. cit.; Grant, loc. cit. Two instances are cited: Mark's ransom saying (10:45) is carefully avoided, and in the Western text, the "blood of the covenant" is omitted.

[8]See, for example, Philippians 2:5-11, and below.

as we find it in the Gospels; for the second, the account of the ascension in Acts 1:9-11, especially the ἐπήθη of verse 9.

Space does not permit at this point a full discussion of the motif of the "servant" as it appears in Acts. Suffice it to say that Isaiah 42:1, as well as the large number of occurrences elsewhere of the title "servant" in the Old Testament, affect its meaning for the early Christians with respect to Christ, and nowhere in Acts can the aspect of vicarious suffering clearly be shown to be present in connection with a passage from Second Isaiah. Not only is this the result of different methods of exegesis by Jewish interpreters,[9] but also this is the result of a much different emphasis present in the earliest Christian preaching.

To determine the position of this citation in early Christian apologetic is extremely difficult, not only due to the nature of the context before us but also because of the lack of non-Lukan sources. As for the context before us, W. L. Knox has definitively shown that taken as a whole, the passage displays a thoroughly Semitic use of parataxis and a lack of particles, except the inevitable καί and occasionally varied by δέ.

Into this basically Semitic context, Luke inserted--Knox maintains--a little gem of Greek conversation, in which Philip opens with ἆρά γε, followed by a play on the words γινώσκεις and ἀναγινώσκεις , to which the eunuch replies, using the almost obsolete

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[9]See Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant (London: S. P. C. K., 1959).

ἄν with the optative.[10] This is an excellent analysis of the passage. Knox goes on to maintain that the story, possibly some visionary experience of Philip, was used by Luke "as an excuse for bringing in one of the main Old Testament testimonies to Christianity, . . . introducing it by the remarkable dialogue between Philip and the barbarian."[11] Whether the passage is the product of radical re-writing by Luke or of minor modification and improvement may never be determined, though judging from Luke's methods elsewhere perhaps the second is to be preferred. If this is the case, the interpretation argued above would be firmly rooted in early Christian tradition.

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[10] W. L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity, loc. cit. F. J. Foakes Jackson in his commentary, The Acts of the Apostles, in The Moffatt New Testament Commentary, ed. by James Moffatt (New York: Richard R. Smith Inc., 1931), p. 76, maintains that the play on words constitutes proof that Luke was using a Greek source. This ignores the possibility, however, that the play on words was the result, not of Luke's source, but of Luke's skill as a Greek writer.

[11] W. L. Knox, loc. cit.

Isaiah 53:12 /// Luke 22:37

MT:

וְאֶת-פֹּשְׁעִים[a] נִמְנָה

[a]IQIs[a] פושעים

LXX:

καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

θ΄ και (σ΄ μετα 86) των ασεβων απεσχετο (α΄σ΄ηριθμηθη 86) 86; unus in noxiis reputatis est Chr

Luke 22:37 CF: "For I tell you that this scripture must be fulfilled in me, . . . for what is written about me has its fulfilment."

καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη

This citation is of considerable importance for several reasons. It is the only citation from Isaiah 53 to appear in the Synoptic tradition. In addition, the interpretation placed upon this verse and its context has strong implications for the understanding of Jesus with relation to the Zealots. Again, our conclusions concerning the source of the application of this citation has implications for the attitude toward and usage of Old Testament Scripture. This last is pointed up by the emphasis on fulfillment

and the appearance of δεῖ in the formula.[1]

However, this passage is one of the most complex in the New Testament. Any analysis must be regarded as only tentative, as an attempt to solve some of the problems involved in the text. It is with a great deal of justice that Ronald Knox said, ". . . verses 35-37 are probably the most obscure in the Gospels."[2] Yet this complexity and obscurity is not altogether disadvantageous. To some degree this trait may be used to support the thesis that the passage itself has a long history in the transmission of the tradition. Schleiermacher, in 1817, remarked that "the obscurity of the passage is evidence of its genuineness and originality."[3] Probably he was correct in placing great significance on this passage; whether or not his inference is justified is yet to be determined.

The source of the citation itself is difficult to determine. The LXX text as we have it is not duplicated exactly. Yet to say that the N. T. citation has no relation to the LXX is impossible,

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[1] Alfred Plummer, in A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908), p. 247, rightly maintains that this word expresses a compulsion, rooted neither in moral obligation nor in natural fitness, but in logical necessity, in the absolute providential will of God.

[2] A Commentary on the Gospels (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1952), p. 189. Knox fails completely to mention verse 38. Reginald H. Fuller, in Luke's Witness to Jesus Christ (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1958), p. 68, refers to this passage as "curious sentences."

[3] Ueber die Schriften des Lukas (translated anonymously by Thirlwall, 1825), p. 299, cited by Plummer, op. cit., pp. 506-507.

not only because the quotation is too brief, but also because the citation is proximate to the LXX. The verb is identical, and the prepositions, though different, are generally synonymous.[4] Therefore, no conclusion is possible concerning the origin of the present form of the citation.[5]

Let us now attempt to analyze the verses before us. Undoubtedly verses 35 and 36 lay the greatest claim to authenticity. Not only do they exhibit an internal cohesiveness of content, but they are related to a previous incident recorded in the whole Synoptic tradition, that is, the words of commissioning directed either to the disciples or the seventy, depending upon the particular document cited. On the other hand, the relation of verses 37-38 to verses 35-36 and to each other is not nearly so clear. The situation is made more difficult by the fact that no parallel to this pericope exists in the other Gospels.

The obscurity in relationship between the various verses is reflected in the variety of interpretations which may be placed

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[4]The N. T. preposition has a stronger connotation of "association" of the subject with the object than the LXX preposition. This connotation may be related to the N. T. context, but this suggestion is only conjecture.

[5]Krister Stendahl, in his book The School of Matthew, op. cit., p. 94f, rightly points out that the two quotations peculiar to Luke, namely 4:18f. and 22:37, show slight traces of the M. T., in contrast with the general LXX character of the gospel. He then asserts that the citation before us contains signs that "indicate that Is. 53 had been the subject of early Christian translation and interpretation in connection with its significance for Christology." This may or may not be so, but as presented by Stendahl, it is an undemonstrated allegation.

upon this passage. The large majority of scholars maintain that the first two verses are to be taken metaphorically, and not literally.[6] According to these scholars, Jesus is explaining to his disciples that times have changed, that whereas before the disciples were welcomed with open arms and with hospitality and helpfulness, now they would find closed doors and open hostility. These scholars would interpret verse 38 in this manner: the disciples misunderstood Jesus' words, and Jesus, seeing that they took them literally, dismissed the subject with ἱκανόν ἐστιν, which may be regarded either as ironical assent or a Semitic formula to break off conversation.[7] Much can be said for this position. It seems to be the most natural explanation of the verses. The meaning is compatible with passages to be found elsewhere in the Synoptic tradition.[8] The response of the disciples is a characteristic manifestation of their degree of understanding. The greatest weakness of this interpretation is that it is incomplete: it does not take into account the citation. These scholars do not inquire into the history of this passage to any degree.

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[6] A. Plummer, idem.; William Barclay, The Gospel of Luke (Philadelphia: The Westminister Press, 1956), p. 281; S. MacLean Gilmour, "The Gospel According to St. Luke" in The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. VIII (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1952), p. 386; et. al.

[7] So J. M. Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke. (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 271.

[8] Matthew 10:16-25; Mark 13:14-20 (// Matthew 24:15-22 // Luke 21:20-24).

Other scholars maintain that Jesus intended these instructions literally: the disciples were to sell their mantles, if necessary, in order to buy a sword. However, the reason given for this instruction varies.[9] Oscar Cullmann maintains that Jesus is literally instructing his disciples to defend themselves, in order that the proclamation of the gospel might be made possible. Cullmann views these instructions as an expression of the tension present in Jesus' view of the state, that it had a legitimate place in human affairs, but that its powers were definitely limited. In this instance, Cullmann believes, resistance was justified.[10] Several things may be offered in support of this view. Certainly, as Cullmann says, the word "sword" seems to have as concrete a referent as "purse," "bag," "sandal," and "mantle" in the passage before us. Also, this interpretation would be the most difficult in view of other Synoptic passages, and its suppression by the other Evangelists is more than understandable. In addition, a view such as this on the part of Jesus would give some basis for

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[9]W. F. Arndt, in The Gospel According to St. Luke (Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), p. 445, maintains that this was a literal injuction to the disciples to defend themselves. T. L. Aborn, in his almost allegorical commentary The Treatise to Theophilus, Vol. II (Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1924), p. 684, suggests that Jesus intended the disciples to use the swords to defend the poor and the weak. B. S. Easton, The Gospel According to St. Luke (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 328-329, concurs. So also A. R. C. Leaney, discussed below.

[10]Oscar Cullmann, The State in the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 31ff.

a misunderstanding by the Romans and even the disciples of Jesus' Messiahship. This interpretation, however, like the preceding one, does not take into account the citation and its meaning. Moreover, unless one is prepared to admit that Luke has rewritten the last portion of verse 38, the reply by Jesus ἱκανόν ἐστιν is somewhat difficult to understand.

It is possible, after some reflection, to relate the citation to either of these interpretations. If Jesus intended his instructions to be taken metaphorically the citation may have been used by him as scriptural evidence that the time would come when He Himself would be regarded as a criminal, a situation issuing in hostility toward his disciples. On the other hand, if Jesus intended his instructions to be taken literally, the fact that he would be regarded as a criminal would make necessary preparations for physical self-defense. These considerations are almost excluded by the fact that nowhere else is this citation to be found in the Synoptic tradition, either on the lips of Jesus or of others. In addition, other considerations suggested below make these interpretations unlikely.

The most likely interpretation is that, receiving a fixed pericope from the oral tradition, Luke inserted the citation and made any necessary modifications to accomplish his purpose in the usage of the material. Several observations tend to demonstrate this re-working of the material.

First, the instructions in the passage before us is addressed to the eleven, whereas in the Gospel of Luke it was not the twelve

but the seventy that were sent out on the missionary journey alluded to by Jesus. In Matthew it was the twelve, with a preparatory group of seventy not being mentioned. This observation raises the possibility that Luke is drawing from a source that is more compatible with the Matthean material than the Lukan.

This possibility receives further support from a second observation. The passages concerning hostility to be expected by the disciples referred to above falls into two categories. On the one hand we find parallel accounts of material common to all three Synoptics, which finds its context in the "little Apocalypse." On the other hand we find one section in Matthew 10:16-25 which has no parallel whatever elsewhere. This section immediately follows the commissioning of the twelve and is especially relevant for the church of Matthew's day. Is it possible that this passage in Luke, likewise related to the commissioning of the missionaries, is the counterpart in Luke's gospel to the section in Matthew? However, this difference is present: Matthew relates the words concerning impending hostility immediately after the words of commissioning, whereas Luke places them much more naturally just before the arrest, trial, and crucifixion of Jesus.

These considerations would, if accepted, tend to show that the material which Luke here related was not fixed in the Lukan source, but rather was chosen by Luke or his community because it was compatible with his purpose. This inference receives some slight support from our third consideration. It has already been noted that

the Gospel of Luke contains only two citations of Scripture peculiar to it. The first is the citation included in Jesus' sermon in Nazareth, which in Luke's scheme prefaced and set the theme of his ministry. Is it possible that this citation is Luke's way of prefacing the extremely significant narrative of the passion?

The fourth observation is related to this possibility, in that it deals with the status of the citation in the oral tradition and in Christian apologetic and interpretation. The fact, as we have noted, that only in this passage is this citation related as an authentic utterance of Jesus raises considerable doubt whether it may be regarded as such, or whether it should be regarded as an interpretative touch of the evangelist and his community. Is there evidence, other than the fact that this pericope appears nowhere else, that this citation was not rigidly fixed in its application to the tradition? The answer is an unequivocable "yes!" Mark 15:28 is a verse of doubtful authenticity in the gospel tradition. This verse has the sole purpose of applying this citation, in identical form, to the passion of Jesus, especially with respect to his crucifixion with the two criminals. This reading is supported by the Koine, the Koridethi Gospel, a few other Codices, some European MSS., the Vulgate, and the Peshitto. These witnesses establish a date no earlier than the Fourth Century, and would not be too valuable in themselves in determining the status of the text before us in the early period. Fortunately, however, we have unassailable evidence that at least in the early part of the Second

Century Mark 15:28 was already present in accepted Manuscripts. Sometime between 250 A. D. and 300 A. D., certainly working with reputable biblical Manuscripts, Eusebius of Caesarea compiled his famous Canons. Fortunately, this verse was listed in the appropriate Canon as a parallel to Luke 22:37. Thus, this variant, which appears only in MSS. copied much later, may be accepted as current in certain circles, predominantly Caesarean. Now the important inference is this. This variant represents a different application of this citation: the citation was fulfilled in the death of Jesus between two criminals on the Cross. Whether this was so for Luke or not is difficult to determine, but some of the MSS. representing these Caesarean circles thought it wise to insert ἔτι in the Lukan passage before the citation, thus emphasizing the fact that the fulfillment of the citation was yet to take place at some time other than when Jesus was speaking.[11] Therefore, it may be concluded that even a century after Luke's Gospel was written the citation was not unalterably fixed in the tradition.

The fifth observation confirms this estimate of the status in the tradition of this proof-text. This consideration concerns the Citation Formulae, both the one preceding and the one following the citation. J. M. Creed suggests that the phrase preceding the quotation is a secondary addition by the evangelist, though he fails

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[11]Luke 22:37. The insertion is supported by the Koine, Theta, and most Minuscules. Note also the substitution of τὰ for τὸ by the same group of Manuscripts.

to give his reasons for this opinion.[12] The conjecture might be made from the usage of δεῖ that the starting point was not the words of Jesus concerning imminent hostility but a prophecy in the Scriptures. Krister Stendahl has rightly shown that the formula quotations in Matthew are connected with a distinctive interpretative form of the Old Testament Scripture. These quotations are characterized by the presence of the verb πληρόω, which interestingly appears in the insertion in Mark 15:28. This term does not appear in the passage before us. In its place stand the phrases δεῖ τελεσθῆναι and τέλος ἔχει . Concerning the latter, Field has an enlightening comment to make,

> . . Since τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ is best explained of the prophetic announcements concerning the Messiah, and τέλος ἔχει is a phrase appropriated by good Greek authors to the accomplishment of such predictions, we would so understand it here, 'are being fulfilled,' 'are receiving their accomplishment,' . . .[13]

Since Luke was a "good Greek author" the usage of this phrase by him would be completely appropriate.

Therefore, considering these factors, the most likely view is that Luke has taken traditional material and has inserted the Scriptural citation in order to accomplish his specific purpose. The traditional material, generally speaking, is contained in verses 35 and 36. If these verses be taken metaphorically, verse 38

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[12] Creed, loc. cit.

[13] Frederick Field, Notes on the Translation of the New Testament (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1899), p. 76. Field cites Dionysius of Halicarnassus Antiquities 1:19,24, 55,56 and Pausanius Corinthian 16:2.

is a misunderstanding, and verse 37 is the insertion. If these verses be taken literally, then verse 37 is the insertion, and verse 38 is an addition by Luke which serves the purpose of showing that the citation is fulfilled.

Who did Luke intend to refer to by the term ἀνόμων? Is it possible that Luke also is referring to the criminals, or, as Creed suggests, to the manner in which he was arrested and the view that was taken of Jesus by the Jews?[14] Is it possible that Luke was intending the referent to be not the manner of Jesus' arrest and the view of our Lord held by the Jews but the disciples themselves? Although the possession of swords may not have been automatically regarded as a criminal trait, the presence of swords in a Messianic group would have been easy so to construe. Here the meaning of the term ἄνομος must be determined. Bauer's Lexicon gives three meanings for the term ἄνομος: 1) with reference to any law, 2) with reference to the Mosaic law, used of the Gentiles, and 3) with reference to God's moral law. This usage is placed within the third grouping, yet it is translated not "be classed among the godless," as expected, but "be classed among the criminals."[15] The

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[14]Creed, loc. cit. "The declaration of the fulfilment of Scripture replaces Mk. xiv 49b (at the arrest) omitted below at verse 53."

[15]William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der uebrigen urchristlichen Literatur (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 71.

usage in this passage belongs not under the third, but under the first. The term refers not to a standard of moral righteousness supported by God, but to obedience to the temporal authorities, i.e., Rome. It is this usage which we find in the Epistle of Barnabas 20:2 and Didache 5:2. Possibly this also is the meaning found in Acts 2:23, the only other occurrence of the term in the Lukan writings. If this is the meaning intended, the citation could refer not to the attitude of the authorities but to Christ's association with the disciples.

Luke's purpose in this case would be to show that by the disciples' possession of swords this prophecy had been fulfilled. As a means of bringing in this citation he implemented an older saying which he found in the tradition. A. R. C. Leaney has maintained that Luke was concerned with explaining the presence of swords possessed by the disciples in the garden; to assure his Roman readers of the disciples' lawfulness, this Scripture was cited to show that the presence of swords was necessary in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled.[16] This view takes into account the context of the citation, the seemingly strong causal relationship of the citation to the preceding verses, embodied in ὅτι and the citation formulae, and some of the observations noted above.

Whatever may be the final conclusion concerning this passage,

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[16]A. R. C. Leaney, A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke, in Black's New Testament Commentary, ed. by Henry Chadwick (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), p. 271.

several things should be noted. First, this citation is clearly used as a proof-text, as an Old Testament prophecy that "must" be fulfilled. Second, the passage does not give the impression of inner cohesiveness. This, along with other considerations, indicate that the passage has been reworked, probably by Luke or his community. Third, the term ἀνόμων clearly has the meaning of "criminal," no matter what its referent may be, and is therefore not an implementation of the vicariously Suffering Servant motif in the Isaianic passage. Simply speaking, it is quoted out of context. Fourth, either verses 35 and 36 were spoken with a metaphorical meaning intended, or else Jesus was giving instructions to the disciples to defend themselves in order that the gospel might be proclaimed. In neither case did Jesus give an encouragement or justification for Zealotism among his disciples. They may have so misunderstood him, however. Fifth, if the above analysis is basically sound, the citation would serve to show that there was an almost overwhelming awareness that Scriptural prophecies must have had their fulfillment in Jesus of Nazareth.[17]

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[17]So F. C. Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), p. 75, with reference to the word "fulfilled," citing Romans 15:4 and I Corinthians 10:11.

Isaiah 54:1 /// Galatians 4:26,27

MT:

רְנִי עֲקָרָה לֹא[a] יָלָדָה פִּצְחִי רִנָּה[b] וְצַהֲלִי לֹא[c]חָלָה
כִּי[d]רַבִּים בְּנֵי-שׁוֹמֵמָה מִבְּנֵי בְעוּלָה אָמַר יְהוָה׃

[a]IQIs[a] ולוא [b]IQIs[a] רינה [c]IQIs[a] ולוא
[d]IQIs[a] כי א

LXX:

εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα
ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον[a] ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα
ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου
μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα εἶπε γὰρ[b] κύριος

[a]V-Q[mg](※)-88(※) L'-[22c]-LI-LII-LIII-[93]-62-86[c] Eus Tht και τερπου
[b]CI omits γαρ

Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus:

α´ κελαδει αινεσιν και χρεμετισον Q 86 Eus (+ουκ ωδινουσα) Chr σ´ ("a quo θ´et α´ praeter pauca verba non discrepant" Hi) laetare sterilis quae non peperisti Hi σ´ ιλαρυνον εν αγαλλιασει και χρεμετισον (σ´ ιλ. – χρεμ. 86) μη τικτουσα (οι ο´ ου τεκουσα 86) πολλα γαρ τα τεκνα της ηφανισμενης υπερ τα τεκνα της υπανδρου Eus Hi[lat] θ´ ρηξον ευφρονσυνην και τερπου ουκ ωδινουσα Q (omits και –end) 86(omits ουκ ωδ.) Eus σ´θ´ ηφανισμενης υπερ τους υιους της υπανδρου 86

Galatians 4:26,27 CF: "for it is written"

26 ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν
ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ[a] ἡμῶν

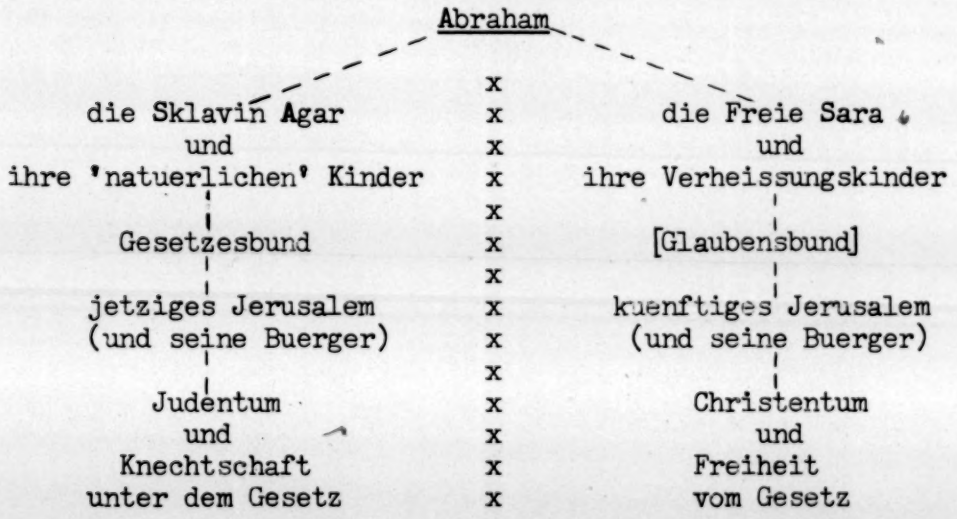
27γέγραπται γάρ
εὐφράντητι στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα
ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα
ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου
μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα
28ὑμεῖς[b] δέ ἀδελφοί κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα
ἐστέ[c]

[a]A Koine pl Syh μητηρ παντων
[b]א A C Koine f vg sy ημεις [c]א A C Koine f vg sy εσμεν

In this passage, the LXX alters the Hebrew in two ways: no equivalent is present in the Greek for רָנָּה, and the terms of comparison are shifted. In the Hebrew the בְּנֵי־שׁוֹמֵמָה and the בְּנֵי בְּעוּלָה are compared; in the Greek the comparison is between τῆς ἐρήμου and τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. Both of these deviations are corrected to conform to the Hebrew in the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The N. T. follows without deviation the non-Lucianic rendering of the LXX.

The Letter to the Galatians seems to have been written in the heat of controversy; as a result, the thought and its development is not always orderly or clear. Paul apparently was at the very least countering a challenge to his apostleship. The disturbance which this challenge caused in Paul's mind is visible throughout most of the letter. It is not to be unexpected that the context of this citation shares in this lack of order and clarity. The framework of this quotation is an allegory, concerned with the meaning

of being a "son of Abraham," i.e., a true member of the covenant community. Though Paul's presentation of the allegory is somewhat confused in places, most commentators see behind Paul's words a well-ordered presentation and argument.[1] Pointing out that the verb συνστοιχεῖ literally means "belongs to the same row or column with," Lightfoot says that it is "not improbable that St. Paul is alluding to some mode of representation common with Jewish teachers to exhibit this and similar allegories."[2] Arranging Lietzmann's terms schematically,[3] the following presentation is possible:



Though the material may never have existed in this form, it most probably does stand behind Paul's words. To whom may we attribute

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[1] E.g., J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), p. 181ff.; Hans Lietzmann, Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus, Part I: Die Vier Hauptbriefe, Vol. III in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), pp. 251-253.

[2] Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 181.

[3] Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 253.

this "allegory?" The most likely person is Paul himself. He was a trained Rabbi, and the allegory is certainly characteristic of his thought.

This does not mean that Paul created the whole unit. At least several of the motifs are to be found elsewhere in the New Testament tradition, and it is possible that Paul derived these motifs from these other circles in the Christian tradition. Abraham figures prominently in other books concerning the significance of Christ and his followers.[4] The motif of the 'new Jerusalem," which we shall discuss shortly, occupies a prominent place in the New Testament. Actually, only the concept of "freedom from the law" and "slavery under the law" seems to be distinctive with Paul.[5]

The motif of the "new Jerusalem" is of importance for this study chiefly because it is closely related to the citation and its usage. Several excellent studies have been

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[4]Mtt. 1:1,2; Lk 1:55,73; Acts 3:25; also see below.

[5]J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum and Comp. N. V., 1954), p. 75f., 109f., points out that this passage is clearly a midrash type. Calling to mind the fact that considerable license was used by various Rabbis in bringing different roots into connection with each other, Doeve remarks that a striking result is obtained when the passage is read in Hebrew: in הגר Paul may have seen an allusion to ההר, the mountain, the mountain kat' exhochen, with two possibilities suggesting themselves, Mount Sinai and Mount Zion. For Paul an allusion in the name Hagar to Mount Sinai and Jerusalem might have suggested that the bondage of Hagar also applied to them.

made concerning this motif,[6] but for our purposes a briefer survey is sufficient. The motif appears explicitly in only two non-Pauline New Testament documents: Hebrews and Revelation. The latter document, an expression of Christian apocalyptic eschatology with roots deep in Jewish apocalyptic dwells on this motif in a number of places. The "new Jerusalem" comes down from God out of heaven[7] at the end of the age, when all of the enemies of the Lamb have been overthrown. The "old heaven and earth" have passed away, and a "new heaven and a new earth" have come into being.[8] Even as the "old heaven and earth" had an old Jerusalem, the "new heaven and new earth" has a new city of God, "the new Jerusalem," in which God dwells with men.

> "Behold, the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself will be with them."[9]

In this "new Jerusalem" all tears and mourning and crying and pain will be no more;[10] in this city, the water of life will flow as a river, bright as crystal, from the throne of God and of the Lamb,[11] the tree of life will yield its twelve kinds of fruit, and its leaves

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[6] E.g., C. K. Barrett's discussion in "The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews," in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, ed. by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1956), pp. 374ff.; for a brief statement, see R. G. Stamm, "The Epistle to the Galatians (Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick and Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1953), Vol. X, p. 541f.

[7] 21:2; 3:12 [8] 21:1

[9] 21:3; 22:3 [10] 21:4

[11] 22:1

will be for the healing of the nations.[12] There will be no temple there, for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb is its temple,[13] and the Lord God's servants shall worship him, they shall see him face to face, and they shall bear his name, and shall reign with him.[14] This is the "new Jerusalem," to which John was looking, and which already existed in heaven and provided the home for the martyred Christians. Already the "new Jerusalem" contained great multitudes. Already those who were faithful were assured by the Risen One of being given "the name of the city of my God, the New Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven. . ."[15] In Ezekiel 48:35, which stands behind this passage, that name is given: "The Lord is there."[16] Therefore, though the "new Jerusalem" at present was in heaven, and provided the home for the multitude of the faithful, those who were in the fires of persecution were assured of being a citizen of that city and of the presence of their God. And, after the great tribulation, the "new Jerusalem" would come down from heaven in its splendor, and God would dwell with His people, and they would share his presence forevermore.

Though in a different literary genre, we find these same motifs in the letter to the Hebrews. Whereas Revelations is apocalyptic, Hebrews seems to be the work of a rhetorician, intent on accomplishing the same purpose as the Revelation: the encourage-

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[12] 22:2

[13] 21:22

[14] 22:4,5

[15] 3:12

[16] A,Q reads $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$

ment of faithfulness under pressure. The author knows that "here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city which is to come."[17] This city is the goal of all the faithful. It is the place of rest promised to the wanderers in the wilderness, but not received by them because of their lack of faith.[18] In the powerful review of the men and women of faith in Chapter 11, the author clearly indicates as the goal of all their striving "the heavenly country, the city" which "their God . . . has prepared for them."[19] Special notice should be drawn to the relatively long section dealing with Abraham and his faith: his going out by faith; his sojourn in the land of promise as in a foreign land; his living in tents with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs of the same promise; the conception of Isaac by faith, resulting in multitudes of descendants; the offering up of Isaac, the only son and heir, for "he considered that God was able to raise men even from the dead; hence figuratively speaking, he did receive him back."[20] In all this, Abraham "looked forward to the city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God,"[21] yet he did not receive that which was promised, for the fulfillment of the promise could not come about, apart from the faithful of Christ.[22] The men of faith not only looked forward to the "city of

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[17] 13:14

[18] 3:7-19; 4:2,5; note that 4:9-11 asserts that this "rest" is for the people of God, those who remain obedient.

[19] 11:16; see also 11:13-15.

[20] 11:8-12, 17-19.

[21] 11:10

[22] 11:39,40

God;" it is this city also to which the faithful of Christ are called, and which only they can bring about. The means is at hand: by His death, Jesus has atoned once and for all for the sins of men;[23] by His presence at God's right hand continual access to God's grace is possible,[24] sufficient help is available,[25] and the new covenant is established.[26] For the author, the Christian is called to remain steadfast in his faith, to make use of this grace, and to look unflinchingly forward to the fulfillment of faith in the "new Jerusalem, the city of God." In fact, faith itself is no longer "trust"; it is unswerving confidence in the "city which is to come."[27]

> For you have not come to what may be touched, a blazing fire, and darkness, and gloom, and a tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and a voice whose words made the hearers entreat that no further messages be spoken to them. . . But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, and to a judge who is God of all, and to spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, and to the sprinkled blood that speaks more graciously than the blood of Abel.[28]

This is a veritable catena of his convictions, almost all of which are held in common with the Apocalypse of John.

With this material from the Revelation of John of Patmos and from the Epistle to the Hebrews, Paul has much in common. Some

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[23] E.g., 10:10-18

[24] E.g., 10:19f.

[25] E.g., 2:18

[26] 7:22; Chapter 8

[27] Hebrews 11:1; 13:14.

[28] Hebrews 12:18,19,22-24.

of these motifs are found in the same form in Paul; others are seemingly reflected by him.[29] Although Paul only here speaks of ἡ... ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ , elsewhere he speaks of "our commonwealth in heaven (ἡμῶν...τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς);[30] Even the form of the name "Jerusalem" lends support to the contention that Paul draws much of this material from a source held in common with these other writings.[31]

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[29]The most striking parallel is found in all three: Paul in Romans 8:29 refers to Christ as the "first-born among many brethren (πρωτότοκον ἐν πολ. ἀδελ.);" the author of Hebrews, in 12:23, a part of the almost creedal statement, refers to Christ as "first-born" (πρωτότοκων); Revelations 1:5 has the same title for the Risen Lord, "the first-born from the dead" (ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν); each seems to speak of Christ as "first-born" in reference to the Resurrection. To a degree these other elements are present in Paul and Hebrews and/or the Revelation: Abraham is justified by faith (Galatians 3:6; Romans 4:1-25; cf. Hebrews 11:8ff.); he is the father of us all (Romans 4:16,17; Cf. Hebrews 6:13,18); and has a multitude of descendants (Romans 5:18; Revelation 7:9, 14:1; Cf. Hebrews 11:12); Isaac was the son of the promise (Galatians 4:23; Cf. Hebrews 11:9), through him were the descendants of Abraham to be named (Romans 9:8; Hebrews 11:18); the Christians, like Isaac, are children of promise (Galatians 3:29, 4:28; Cf. Hebrews 11:39,40) if we share in the faith of Abraham (Galatians 3:6-9, Romans 4:16) the concept of two covenants (Galatians 4:24; Cf. e.g., Hebrews Chapter 9); "Jerusalem above" (Galatians 4:26; Cf. Hebrews 12:22; Revelations 3:12, 21:2); "a new creation" (Galatians 6:15; Cf. Revelations 21:5); "Israel of God" (Galatians 6:16; Cf. Revelations 21:3, 22:4); and the similar terminology of Romans 4:17 and Hebrews 11:3,19. Admittedly, concepts such as "faith," "promise," and "covenant" receive different interpretations by Paul and the author of Hebrews, but behind seems to stand much common material and interpretation.

[30]Philippians 3:20; cf. Ephesians 2:6; Colossians 3:1f.

[31]With the exception of Galatians 1:17,18, 2:1, Paul consistently agrees with the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse of John in using the form Ἰερουσαλήμ. With the exception of the non-Matthean passage Matthew 23:23 (// Luke 13:34), Matthew, Mark, and John consistently uses another form of the name. Luke-Acts uses both forms, perhaps in part due to sources and in part to style.

However, since the origin of Hebrews is not certain, since John of Patmos was associated with Asia Minor, and since Paul worked so intensely in this area, could not this common material be attributed to Paul, with the other writings possibly dependent on him? This is not impossible, but it is highly unlikely. The difference in type of these documents, the vividness of the motif in both Revelations and Hebrews, the presence of the concept in pre-Pauline Jewish and Christian thought,[32] and the casual way in which Paul alludes to the motif all indicate that this was not the creation of Paul, but a concept received by him from the tradition before him.

The citation from Isaiah specifically is related to the motif of the "new Jerusalem," as the context clearly indicates: "But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother. For it is written, . . ."[33] In addition, her children, i.e., citizens, are like Isaac, children of promise.[34] As we have seen, both of these associations are related to each other in the tradition behind this passage. However, what function does the citation have in the allegory which Paul is setting forth? What is its purpose? What does it prove? Upon close examination, it will be seen that it serves no purpose; if omitted, no gap occurs in the allegory. Its application rests upon the motif of the "Jerusalem above," which is assumed, but not proven, by the citation in this context. Then why

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[32] See Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 253.

[33] Galatians 4:26,27a

[34] Galatians 4:28

does Paul cite this passage?

Most probably this citation was used in the source behind Paul to support the identification of the "new Jerusalem" and the Christian movement. Isaiah 54:1ff., as well as passages elsewhere, speak of the restoration, glorification, and enlargement of Jerusalem, a process which is set within eschatological contexts.[35] Since such prophecies could not possibly be applied to the physical Jerusalem, they were applied to the "Jerusalem from above."[36] As indicated, this process began even in the Old Testament period. In the eyes of the early Christians, "the fecundity of the Christian church, after a long period of sterility while the law reigned and limited God's People to the Jews, confirms the identification of the Church with the heavenly or true Jerusalem, of which, in Paul's view, the prophet is speaking."[37] The only correction to be made concerning this statement is that this was not only Paul's view, but the view of the developed tradition which he received and appropriated.

This interpretation of the citation and its application is supported by usage soon after Paul. It seems that shortly the application of this citation in the framework of the "new Jerusalem" motif was lost, and the interpretation of this citation shifted.

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[35]Isaiah 52:1,2, 54:11-14, 60:15-20, 62:1-5; see also Hosea 1:10, 2:1; Zechariah 2:5; 8:3 ff.; among others.

[36]See Ezekiel, Chapters 40-45

[37]John A. Allan, The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, in the Torch Bible Commentaries, ed. by John Marsh, Alan Richardson, and R. Gregor Smith (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1951), p. 77.

Polycarp regards, not the "new Jerusalem," but "faith" as the mother of us all: πίστιν ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν.[38] Both Clement and Origen refer τῆς ἐρήμου more peculiarly to the Gentile church as opposed to the Jewish church.[39] Thus, as the emphasis and interest in the "new Jerusalem" faded, the usage of Paul became difficult and obscure.

In summary, it may be said that in this passage Paul is drawing heavily upon traditional material which he received, and which appears as well in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the Revelation of John of Patmos. This material included these elements: Abraham as the father of many nations, with whom the covenant of faith was made; Isaac, as the child of promise, heir to the covenant of faith, offered up yet returned alive to his father; οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ, heirs to the covenant of faith, children of promise,[40] citizens of the "city which is to come"; "Jerusalem above," true home of the children of

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[38]Polycarp iii 3, cited by P. V. M. Beneke in his discussion in The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, by a Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1905), p. 92.

[39]Clement Corinthians 2:2 and Origen in Rom. vi, cited by Charles J. Ellicott, St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Third Edition (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863), p. 96 f.

[40]There are some slight indications that Isaac may be considered the prototype of Christ in this context. Does the interpretation of the return of Isaac to Abraham in terms of "resurrection" (Hebrews 11:19,20) point in this direction? Is there any relation between Paul's words "he who did not spare his own Son but gave him up (παρέδωκεν) for us all" (Romans 8:32) and the author of Hebrews words concerning Abraham's readiness "to offer up his only son" (τὸν μονογενῆ προσέφερεν)? Both Christ in Paul

promise, which at the last time will be the "Jerusalem which comes down from God out of heaven," the dwelling of God with men, whose name is, "The Lord is there," in which the prophecies of the restoration of Jerusalem are fulfilled.

This citation, having no function in Paul's allegory, was taken by Paul without thought from this source, in which it was used to support the identification of the "new Jerusalem" with the Christian movement.

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and Isaac in Hebrews was the "heir according to promise." A third suggestion concerns only Paul. In Romans 9:10 Paul speaks of the conception of heirs of the promise "by one man, our forefather Isaac." This seems exceedingly strange: how could it be otherwise than by "one man?" The phrase ἐξ ἑνὸς seems to be a technical phrase. In Galatians 3:16 the same term is applied to Christ as the singular "seed" of Abraham; Paul says that the scripture "does not say, 'And to offsprings,' referring to many, but referring to one (ἐφ' ἑνός), 'And to your offspring,' which is Christ." Is there any significance in this similarity?

Isaiah 55:3 /// Acts 13:34

MT:

הַטּוּ אָזְנְכֶם[a] וּלְכוּ אֵלַי שִׁמְעוּ[b] וּתְחִי[c] נַפְשְׁכֶם[d]
וְאֶכְרְתָה[e] לָכֶם[f] בְּרִית עוֹלָם חַסְדֵי דָוִד[g] הַנֶּאֱמָנִים׃

[a] IQIs[a] אוזנכמה
[b] IQIs[a] ושמעו
[c] IQIs[a] ותחי׳ה
[d] IQIs[a] נפשכמה
[e] IQIs[a] ואכרו׳ה
[f] IQIs[a] לכמה
[g] IQIs[a]

LXX:

προσέχετε τοῖς ὠτίοις ὑμῶν
καὶ ἐπακολουθήσατε ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου
ἐπακούσατέ μου
καὶ ζήσεται ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν
καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον
τὰ ὅσια Δαυιδ τὰ πιστά

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion

οσια) σ′θ′ (σ′ Pr; α′σ′θ′ Chr) ελεη 86 Chr Pr

Acts 13:34 CF: "He spoke in this way"

ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν
μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν
οὕτως εἴρηκεν ὅτι δώσω ὑμῖν
τὰ ὅσια Δαυιδ τὰ πιστα

This citation represents one of the most difficult problems present in the New Testament. The form of the citation does not present a problem; the citation is taken clearly from the LXX. Rather, the difficulty is with regard to the interpretation of the citation, and the relation of the citation to its context. G. H. C. Macgregor, like Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, rightly regards the Greek as quite obscure, an obscurity which is equally present in English translation when it is faithfully and accurately translated.[1]

Several attempts have been made to interpret this phrase so as to make sense out of its usage in this context. Lake and Cadbury point out that the argument turns on the Greek word ὅσια and on its intelligibility. Here ὅσια is unintelligible. Using the Rabbinic method of "analogy," the writer takes another passage in which the adjective ὅσιος is used substantively, Psalm 16:10, "Thou wilt not give thy holy one--ὅσιον --to see corruption," and introduces it by διότι, to show that this is the justification for his interpretation, and that by perfectly correct Rabbinical reasoning τὰ ὅσια means the Resurrection.[2]

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[1]G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Acts of the Apostles (Introduction and Exegesis)," The Interpreter's Bible, George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., editors (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1954), Vol. IX, p. 180; Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. V, English Translation and Commentary, ed. by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1933), p. 155.

[2]Ibid.

Another explanation is offered in Arndt and Gingrich's English edition of Walter Bauer's lexicon. It is maintained that in good Hellenistic usage τὰ ὅσια meant "divine decrees," in contrast to human statutes; the citation is then translated "I will grant you the sure decrees of God relating to David." This explanation is then given,

> This quotation from Isaiah 55:3 is evidently meant to show that the quotation from Psalm 15(16):10, which follows immediately, could not refer to the Psalmist David, but to Christ alone. The promises to David have solemnly been transferred to 'you'. However, David himself served not you, but his own generation (verse 36). So the promises of God refer not to him, but to his Messianic Descendant.[3]

Yet another explanation is represented by the translation of James Moffatt. As represented in Volume I of The Beginnings of Christianity, Moffatt takes τὰ ὅσια in a substantive sense, and τὰ πιστά in an adjectival sense, thus recovering the structure of the Masoretic Text and its reading. By this means Moffatt arrives at this translation, "I will give you the holiness of David that fails not."[4]

A brief critique of these views would be in order. Lake and

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[3]William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Duetsches Woerterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der uebrigen urchristlichen Literatur, Fourth Revised and Augmented Edition, 1952 (Chicago, Illinois: the University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 589.

[4]F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, Prolegomena I: The Jewish, Gentile and Christian Backgrounds, Volume I in The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1920), p. 116.

Cadbury, in the first view, rightly applies the criterion of Rabbinic argument to this passage, and thus succeed in getting some sense out of it. Their view requires two things, however. First, the citation must be relatively isolated from its context in order to explain the obscure term in this way. Second, since these men specifically state that the argument is valid only if the language is Greek,[5] this interpretation must have been made by a Christian Rabbi who strangely was writing or working with Greek. An even stronger objection than these is the presence of the pronoun ὑμῖν. The citation is applied not to the Resurrection of Jesus, as the context requires and we would expect, but to "you," in the plural, obviously the hearers or readers of this speech. Likewise unacceptable is the view proposed by Arndt and Gingrich's lexicon. They too rightly relate the citation from Isaiah 55:3 with the one from Psalm 16:10, and it is likely that they are right in their translation of the term τὰ ὅσια. Yet in their explanation of the purpose of this citation they have reversed the order of the development of Christian thought. Psalm 16:10 could not have applied to Christ alone because the promises of God to David had been transferred to the Christians; rather the promises of God to David had been transferred to the Christians <u>because</u> Psalm 16:10 was so appropriate with reference to the Risen One. Moreover, the citation from Second Isaiah seems to confuse, rather than to clarify, the proof for the Resurrection.

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[5]Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 156.

Moffatt's translation requires even less comment. There seems to be no justification whatever for translating the neuter plural ὅσια with the abstract term "holiness." In no other place in Hellenistic or Christian Greek literature does this term have this sense. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of this meaning, but only makes it highly unlikely.

Before an attempt is made to examine more closely the New Testament passage, a discussion of the term ὅσιος in the LXX and a consideration of the Hebrew terms involved and their meaning would be beneficial. In both Isaiah 55:3 and Psalm 16:10 the word translated by ὅσιος is derived from the Hebrew חסד. Psalm 16:10 has the term חָסִיד, used as a substantive and with a personal suffix attached. The term, translated by the King James as "holy one" and by the Revised Standard version as "godly one," denotes a person who is faithful and thorough in his obedience to the covenant of Yahweh. At a later period, it denoted the "pious one," especially with reference to the codified law. Isaiah 55:3 contains the term חֲסָדִי, and appears in the form of plural construct. This term, usually used in some relation or in reference to Yahweh, denotes "covenant love," "covenant loyalty," or a similar term. The term includes not only "faithfulness," but an element of "mercy" and the recognition of a fixed bond between the parties involved. C. H. Dodd, in a brief but excellent analysis of the terms and their LXX translation, finds in these two terms the common idea of loyal affection, which in reference to the covenant relation

is raised to the highest degree.[6] Thus the חַסְדֵי דָוִד refers to the covenant made by Yahweh with David, and denoted the divine promises concerning the victories, security, and unending nature of the reign of David's house. By the time of Second Isaiah the term had almost become a technical phrase for denoting the realization and fulfillment of the promises of Yahweh to David, which was to take place through David's descendants and the people Israel.

> David was chosen by Yahweh to be king over Israel. He was anointed with the holy oil by the prophet Samuel, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon him. The activity of the Spirit of God dominates the whole history of David's kingly career. . . he was considered to stand in a special relationship to Yahweh . . . This relationship is best described as one of election, but precisely this election involved his relationship with Yahweh's people, Israel. He is responsible for them; he is their leader and helper in battle, their representative among the nations of the world, and in some sense at least a mediator between Yahweh and them. His good acts bring beneficent results; his sins, dire consequences. Yahweh's promises to him affect Israel; Israel's history is bound with these assurances. . .God has made him "a witness," "a leader," and a "commander to the people." Is this a reference to the Messiah, the messianic David? Many scholars think so. But the construction of the strophe shows very clearly that the emphasis falls not primarily on David but upon the people of Israel. It is to them the covenant love assured to David is granted. David, like Jacob and Abraham, lives on in the life of the people, a view characteristic of Israel's psychical mentality. The historical reality embodied in David as king and representative of Israel through the power and purpose of God is to be realized in David's people. . .Finally, it seems likely that our prophet is spiritualizing David's mission, although the national features are by no means absent. As David

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[6] C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954), p. 60.

> was "a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people," so Israel will perform the same functions in the world. Her task was to be Yahweh's witness (43:10; 44:8), and she was to be exalted and established among the people.[7]

After this all too brief discussion of the Hebrew terms involved, let us now summarily examine how the LXX translators rendered these terms into Greek. Since Greek had no word which combined the connotations expressed above, the LXX translators were driven to split up the indivisible whole of חסד into its various aspects, representing each by a separate word. חֶסֶד is rendered almost exclusively by words connoting kindness or mercy, chief among which are the terms ἔλεος, ἐλεημοσύνη. On the other hand, with only one exception, חָסִיד is rendered by terms which do not include these connotations. The normal rendering of חָסִיד is ὅσιος. Considering this rendering and all of the others, it is perfectly clear that to the translators the Greek word ὅσιος suggested the ideas of piety, devoutness, or moral correctness, with no trace of the original idea of חסד.[8] In Psalm 16:10 the LXX translators correctly rendered חָסִיד with ὅσιος; yet in Isaiah 55:3, apparently misunderstanding the derivation of the Hebrew term, or perhaps translating thoughtlessly, the same Greek term is erroneously

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[7] James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, Volume V, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 645-646.

[8] The information in this paragraph to this point is taken from C. H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

employed. This mistake was the cause of the obscurity of the Greek. It is significant to note that the identical phrase חַסְדֵי דָוִד, is translated correctly in II Chronicles 6:42 with the phrase τὰ ἐλέη Δαυιδ.

Considering these factors, it is clear that ὅσιος shifted in meaning at the time of its translation. Luke certainly found an accepted meaning in the phrase. Since he apparently had been exposed to Hellenistic culture, it is likely that Luke understood by τὰ ὅσια "divine decrees," the meaning for the term found in Plato, Xenophon, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Josephus. Such decrees were given by God to David; one such decree is that which is found in Psalm 16:10. David, being a prophet, knew that this decree had reference not to himself, but to the coming resurrection of Christ (2:25-31). In this way, Isaiah 55:3 provided unassailable proof that the promise to David expressed in Psalm 16:10 would be fulfilled; this promise in turn was unassailable proof for Luke for the Resurrection of Jesus.

The passage is still confusing; however, this view does give some understanding concerning Luke's attitude toward this citation. Yet several factors point to the conclusion that Luke was working with traditional material which in another context had great meaning for the early Christians. That the material has been somewhat distorted through re-shaping is supported by the observation that the argument would be more cohesive if the citation from Second Isaiah is omitted, and by the seeming incongruity of the pronoun

ὑμῖν in the citation. Is it possible that the two citations were originally employed in Hebrew, and that they only were related after being employed in Greek, when the similarity of τὰ ὅσια and τὸν ὅσιον occurred? It is clear that both citations are related to the Davidic motif, which in turn in Christian circles is closely related to the interpretation of Jesus as the Messiah. Let us seek to reconstruct briefly this teaching, using as the basis not this section, but the early chapters of Acts. In Acts 2:25-28, verses 8-11 of Psalm 16 are cited, to show that Jesus, whose resurrection was foreseen by his ancestor David, is the Christ. Jesus as Christ is at God's right hand (2:33), the fulfillment of Psalm 110:1. From this place of exaltation He has sent the Spirit (2:33). By His name many signs and wonders were done through the apostles (2:43; 3:1ff.), and against "the Lord and his Anointed" the opposition was directed (4:23-31). This exaltation makes possible forgiveness of sins (2:38; 10:43; 13:38). Is it also true that through Christ the covenant of David is also fulfilled? Do we find reflections of this implication? If so, then this implication may underlie the church's awareness of itself as the new Israel. We do find some support in Acts for this implication, though at times it seems to be fused with the promise to Abraham. Peter in 3:19-20 pleads for repentance, "that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus, whom heaven must receive until the time for establishing all that God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old." Paul says he is under arrest "because of the hope of Israel" (28:20). Most

important of all are the words of James, as he quotes Amos 9:11-12,

> After this I will return,
> and I will rebuild the dwelling of David,
> which has fallen;
> I will rebuild the ruins,
> and I will set it up,
> that the rest of men may seek the Lord,
> and all the Gentiles who are called by my name,
> says the Lord, who has made these things known
> from of old. (Acts 15:16-18)

Significantly, only the last portion is applicable to James' purpose; yet since the irrelevant words are retained it seems clear that they had value for the early Christians. These lines, of all those cited, indicate most clearly the expectation related to the motif of the Davidic Messiah. The nationalistic elements have, of course, been re-interpreted so as to apply to the new Israel, the church.

If these reflections are valid, and it is conceded that the Davidic Messiah motif had implications concerning future prosperity and restoration, then it would be easy to see how, extremely early in the Christian tradition, these expectations were expressed in this citation from Isaiah 55:3. This citation, interpreted from the Hebrew, would fully convey these promises. In addition, they would be entirely in keeping with the Old Testament meaning indicated above, once it was granted that Christ was the Davidic Messiah.

These tentative conclusions may therefore be stated: First, this section of the Acts contains material that is extremely old and traditional, but which has been re-worked, perhaps by Luke. Second, the relevant phrase τὰ ὅσια in the LXX was unintelligible; for Luke it represented absolute divine decrees, one of which he found in

Psalm 16:10. Third, prior to the shift from Hebrew to Greek, this citation had great significance, in that it conveyed the assurance and promise of the prosperity of the new Israel, as well as carrying powerful implications concerning its mission. Fourth, at an early time the Davidic motif, with its implications concerning future prosperity, was fused with other motifs, and thus, prior to Luke's time in all likelihood, lost its identity. It may be added that not all promises of prosperity and not all the elements making up the early church's sense of mission can be derived from this motif; however, it is probable that this theme played its part.

Isaiah 56:7d /// Mark 11:17; Matthew 21:13; Luke 19:46

MT:

כִּי[a] בֵיתִי בֵּית־תְּפִלָּה יִקָּרֵא[b] לְכָל־[c]הָעַמִּים׃

[a]IQIs[a] כיא [b]IQIs[a] יקרה [c]IQIs[a] לכול

LXX:

ὁ γὰρ οἶκος μου
οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται [a]πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν[a]
[a-a]538 omits

Mark 11:17 CF: "is it not written that . . ."

καὶ ἐδίκασκεν καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς[a]
οὐ[b] γέγραπται ὅτι
ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται
πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε[c] αὐτὸν σπήλαιον ληστῶν
[a]B pc omit [b]O 188 D θ it omit [c]Hez Koine D al εποιησατε

Matthew 21:13 CF: "it is written"

καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς γέγραπται
ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται
ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ποιεῖτε[a] σπήλαιον ληστῶν
[a]C Koine D εποιησατε

Luke 19:46 CF: "it is written"

λέγων αὐτοῖς γέγραπται
καὶ ἔσται ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς
ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε σπήλαιον λῃστῶν

This quotation from Isaiah is taken from the LXX by all three Synoptics. Due to the absence of any variants in the LXX text, any determination of the particular textual tradition followed by the New Testament documents is impossible. However, it would be well at this point to consider the differences in form of this citation as it appears in the three Synoptics.

A minor difference is the appearance in Luke of ἔσται instead of κληθήσεται, but this seems to have been done in order to replace a Hebraism with a good Greek word.[1] More puzzling is the inclusion of πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν by Mark and the omission of the phrase by Matthew and Luke. Many reasons for this difference have been suggested.[2] Though not conclusive, perhaps the view expressed by Ivor Buse and Lonsdale Ragg is the most reason-

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[1]So Le P. M.-J. Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Marc, in Etudes Bibliques series (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1929), p. 296.

[2]The following suggestions have been made: (1) the phrase is an addition to the original text of Mark: A. H. McNeile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Macmillan and Co., 1949), p. 299; B. W. Bacon, The Beginnings of the Gospel Story: A Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Sources and Structure of the Gospel According to Mark, in The Modern Commentary (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), p. 162; (2) Mark unintentionally carried his quotation too far: W. C. Allen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew,

able.[3] These men, after comparing the accounts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke and taking into the account the similarities and differences between the Synoptics themselves and between the Synoptics and John, conclude that the omission is due to the use of a different source by Mark and the other two Gospels. This position remains tentative, subject to further examination and discussion.

Of far more importance than these differences in form is the question of the New Testament usage of this passage in relation to the Old Testament context. In Isaiah this citation appears in a passage dealing with the gathering of the Community of God, which will include not only the outcasts of Israel but foreigners as

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in The International Critical Commentary series (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p. 223; (3) Luke's eyes were on Jewish national reform, not on this universalistic motif: William Manson, The Gospel of Luke, in The Moffatt New Testament Commentary, ed. James Moffatt (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930), p. 219; (4) the omission was deliberate, since the Temple had fallen by Matthew's and Luke's time and the nations were finding their way into the church: J. M. Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 242; (5) the omission occurred because the phrase was capable of mistranslation: B. S. Easton, The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 290.

[3]Ivor Buse, "The Cleansing of the Temple in the Synoptics and John," The Expository Times, 70: October 1958 - September 1959, pp. 22-24; Lonsdale Ragg, St. Luke, in The Westminister Commentaries, ed. by Walter Lock (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1922), p. 252. See also F. Godet, A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke, in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, Fourth Series, Vol. XLV (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1875), Vol. II, p. 234, trans. from the Second French Edition by M. D. Cusin.

well. It is in reference to the latter that this utterance is spoken. The Lord says that he will bring the foreigners

> . . .to my holy mountain,
> and make them joyful in my house of prayer;
> their burnt offerings and their sacrifices
> will be accepted on my altar;
> for my house shall be called a house of prayer
> for all peoples.

Isaiah's emphasis in this passage is on the gathering of the responsive Gentiles. His designation of the Temple as "a house of prayer" indicates the chief function of that place.[4]

To what extent is this context implemented in the New Testament? On one hand, it may be said that we have little indication that the motif of the gathering of the Gentiles is involved in this citation, either as spoken by Jesus or as interpreted by the church. To be sure, this motif was of great importance for the early Christians, and it appears elsewhere in the New Testament tradition, but it does not seem to have been developed in this passage. On the other hand, the designation of the Temple as "a house of prayer" is essential to this event. It is this understanding of the purpose of the Temple which apparently furnishes the motivation for this act on the part of Jesus.

It is at this point that we must ask, "What did Jesus intend to do, and what does this intention imply concerning his

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[4]James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Cahpters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, p. 659.

understanding of his mission, in this particular instance?" Then a second question naturally arises, "What did the Evangelists and the early Christians understand Jesus' intention to be, and what inferences may be drawn from their understanding concerning his person?" First, let us seek to answer the former question with some degree of probability. The simplest explanation is perhaps the best in this case. Jesus enters the Temple aware of the abuses taking place within it. He apparently is cognizant of the distraction and desecration of this place of prayer and worship. With prophetic zeal he drives out the moneychangers, the animal merchants, and, according to Mark, those who were using the outer court as a shortcut in their commercial journeys. After vigorously exercising his prophetic authority, Jesus announces the positive purpose of the Temple and then the negative present condition of the Temple. These two aspects constitute the prophetic utterance arising out of the historical situation. After this act and the teaching which followed, the hostility toward Jesus became crystallized and his arrest, trial, and death inevitably followed, according to the Synoptics.

It seems clear that in this instance Jesus considered himself to be carrying out a prophetic activity. This consciousness of his prophetic office clearly is manifest many more times during his ministry. His prophetic office seems to have been clearly involved in the imminence and even inevitability of his death. In fact, perhaps it is as a prophet that Jesus is to be chiefly

perceived. This is not to be construed to mean that Jesus thought of himself as a prophet and thus only a spokesman for God; rather, Jesus may have placed himself within the long line of prophets who proclaimed God's will and judgement both by words and deeds, and who as a result of their prophetic office were sure of persecution and death.[5]

This interpretation certainly was not compatible with the outlook of the early Christians for very long; this fact, however, enhances, rather than lessesn, its claim to validity with respect to Jesus' own consciousness. Let us now turn to an examination of this passage in relation to the understanding of the Synoptists and the early Christians.

The Synoptists, especially Luke, retain the prophetic office for Jesus. Repeatedly Jesus is referred to and treated as a prophet as the story of his actions and the record of his words are narrated. The prophetic office seems to have lost the deep meaning and effectiveness indicated above; rather, the reflections in Luke seem to be but the remnant of the material and views developed by those concerned with the tradition of the martyr-prophets. Other

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[5]Paul E. Davies in his article "Did Jesus Die as a Martyr-Prophet?," Biblical Research (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1957), Vol. II, 1957, pp. 19-30, discusses in an excellent fashion this possibility, and makes suggestions at which I was arriving independently. It may be added that such a motif as discussed by Davies and referred to above was obviously cultivated in a particular circle with which Jesus had some noetic relation, and that the death of a martyr-prophet was considered to have propitiatory or piacular value.

considerations enter into this account, and we find these motifs influencing the presentation of the material. Some scholars, interpreting Malachi 3:1-4 as messianic, see this passage alluded to in this pericope, and thus see in this occurrence an act of the Messiah.[6] Though this passage from Malachi may have been used by the early Christians to interpret the Temple-Cleansing, it finds no definite reflections in this pericope. Though such associations were unlikely in the mind of Jesus, these connotations may have been present in the minds of the early Christians.

There can be no doubt but that the early Christians thought and understood this act to be that of a prophet. The meaning and inference of this is not only prophetic reform, however; another element is brought in. It is clear that in the understanding of the Synoptists the action of Jesus was intended not only for reform, but it implied the imminent destruction of the Temple. Since the Temple probably was destroyed by the time the Synoptists wrote their gospels, this historical development could be imple-

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[6]Walter Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus, Vm. II in Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. by D. Erich Fascher (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1959), p. 40ff.; E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, Second Edition, ed. by F. N. Davey (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1954), p. 193; Fritz Rienecker, Das Evangelium des Matthaeus, in Wuppertaler Studienbibel series (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1953), p. 284; G. J. Paul, The Gospel According to Saint Mark: Introduction and Commentary, No. 13 in The Christian Students' Library, published for the Senate of Serampore by the Christian Literature Society (Mysore City, India; The Wesley Press, 1957), p. 202; V. Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1952), p. 457.; et. al.

mented to prove the accuracy and efficacy of the prophetic judgement of Jesus. Though a detailed discussion is not possible here, reference might briefly be made to the evidence for this interpretation by the early Christians. First, Jesus alluded to Jeremiah 7:11, and a consideration of the context of this allusion would indicate that this allusion could be taken to imply the destruction of the Temple. Mark 11:11, misunderstood or ignored by scholars, indicates clearly that Mark was aware of the context in Jeremiah. Second, the pericope of the cursing of the fig-tree in Mark is closely related to the Temple-Cleansing, and symbolically presents the condition of the Holy City and its people and imminent destruction. This figure of the fig-tree in relation to Israel is explicit in Jeremiah 8:13. Third, Luke, who omits the story of the cursing of the fig-tree, records instead Jesus' powerful prediction of the imminent destruction of Jerusalem, in Luke 19:41-44. It may well be that Luke drops the obscure pericope of Mark in favor of the clearer prediction of devastation.

In summary, the citation from Isaiah serves as the expression of what Jesus understood the Temple to be. This citation was taken somewhat out of context, with the context in Isaiah having nothing perceptible to do with its usage. In this action Jesus was acting out of his authority as a prophet, and this implication concerning his role, which is supported by numerous other passages, indicates that Jesus may have considered himself to stand in the long line of martyr-prophets, and in this motif he may have found

the chief understanding of his mission. For the early Christians, the action meant more. In addition to having possible messianic connotations, the action was taken to imply the imminent destruction of the Temple, which had been consummated in history.

Isaiah 59:7,8a /// Romans 3:15-17

MT:

7 רַגְלֵיהֶם[a] לָרַע יָרֻצוּ[b] וְיְמַהֲרוּ לִשְׁפֹּךְ[c] דָּם נָקִי[d]
מַחְשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם[e] מַחְשְׁבוֹת אָוֶן שֹׁד וְשֶׁבֶר[f] בְּמְסִלוֹתָם:[g]
8 דֶּרֶךְ שָׁלוֹם לֹא[h] יָדָעוּ וְאֵין מִשְׁפָּט בְּמַעְגְּלוֹתָם[i]

[a] IQIs[a] רגלי׳המה [b] IQIs[a] ירוצו [c] IQIs[a] לשפוך
[d] IQIs[a] נק׳א [e] IQIs[a] מחשבות׳המה
[f] IQIs[a] ושבר וחמס [g] IQIs[a] במסלות׳המה [h] IQIs[a] לוא
[i] IQIs[a] במעגלות׳המה

LXX:

7 οἱ δὲ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίαν[a] τρέχουσι
ταχινοὶ[b] ἐκχέαι[d] αἷμα[c]
καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν διαλογισμοὶ[e] ἀφρόνων[f]
σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν
8 καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης[g-] οὐκ οἴδασι[g]
καὶ[h] οὐκ ἔστι[i] κρίσις[j] ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν

[a] 534 πονηρα; 311′ την πον. και ταχ.; 403′ ταχ. εισιν [b] 88 ταπεινοι; 62-LII-86[c] 403′ 407 449′ 544 Hi αιμα αναιτιον [c] Q Syh Eus V L′-62 [d] LII 544 εκχεειν; 62 εκχεεις; 449′ 538 Cyrtou εκχ. [e] CI 239′ λογισμοι; [f] א[c] Q[txt]-26-86* B C′-91 46 198 233 407 410 534 965 Syh[txt] Cyr απο φονων
[g-g] A-26 Q[mg]-OI 403 Clem Eus Hi ουκ εγνωσαν
[h] V 613 Bo Tht Cyr omit
[i] 88-736 91 239 538 Cyr[lem] εσται [j] א* κρισιν θεου

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion:

επι πονηριαν) α′σ′θ′ εις κακον
ταχ. εκχ. αιμα) α′σ′ και ταχυνουσιν εις το εκχεαι αιμα
θ′ αιμα αναιτιον
αφρονων) α′ ανωφελους σ′ ανομιας θ′ αδικιας

Romans 3:15-17 CF: "as it is written"

15 ὀξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα
16 σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν
17 καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν

In this citation from Isaiah 59:7,8a, Paul quotes selectively the phrases which fit his purposes. It is quite evident that Paul again follows the LXX version. This version has no equivalent in translation for the Hebrew רָצוּ, and in this variation it is followed by Paul. Within the LXX itself, sufficient variants are present to again permit us to identify the MSS. affinity of Paul's citation. Ellis places this citation in his Class 5, which includes quotations which vary with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary.[1] This classification can only be made, however, if the reading of Alexandrinus and its allies be ignored. The non-Alexandrinian MSS by and large read οὐκ οἴδασι in 8a of the LXX; A, 26, Q^{mg}-88-the Hexaplaric Syriac, 403, Clement, Eusebius, and Hieronymus read οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. It is the latter reading which we find in Paul.

That this citation, along with the citations which precede and follow it, is found in Psalm 13:3 of Codex A of the LXX is well-known. Since Paul's citation seems to be an eclectic combination of verses from various Psalms and this portion of Isaiah, it is commonly assumed that the citations were inserted into Psalm

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[1] E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 150.

13:3 by the scribe of Codex **A**. The peculiar form of some of Paul's citation, and the fact that the first part of Paul's citation in Romans is from this Psalm, lends considerable credence to this position. The scribe, having accurately copied the archetype of Psalm 13:3a,b, unconsciously continued with the rest of Paul's words as we know them in Romans. Can we, however, ascribe this much influence to Paul's citations, especially in the light of the extensiveness of the citations in Romans, and of the fact that the citations were not particularly distinctive or uncommon? How may we explain the failure of the διορθώτης to correct this error on the part of the original scribe? Taking into consideration these factors, the question must still be regarded as open. A second possible answer will be suggested below.

As Paul indicates in Romans 3:9, this scripture and its companions is cited to prove the universality of sinfulness, both with respect to the Jews and with respect to the Gentiles. For this purpose, the following Scriptures are quoted in whole or in part: Psalm 14:1-3(13:1-3), Psalm 5:10, Psalm 140:4, Psalm 10:7, Isaiah 59:7,8a; Psalm 36:2. With these selected Scriptures, Paul is able to indicate various ways in which the sinfulness of every man is expressed: "throat," "tongues," "lips" (verse 13), "mouth" (verse 14), and "feet" (verse 15) in whose paths "are ruin and misery" (verse 16), and which do not know the "way of peace." (verse 17). This scathing condemnation of "all men" is prefaced by a prelude (verses 10-12) and a postlude (verse 18)

of general condemnation. The usage of these Scriptures is most certainly an instance of "dogmatic proof."[2]

To whom may we ascribe this combination of citations? The most obvious answer is "Paul." To a person of Paul's ability and training, such a selective citation of Scriptures would have been not only possible but with little effort. The citation is carried out with skill, omitting the phrases which are irrelevant or repetitive. It displays order and reflection. Not only are these traits in keeping with the tenor of the Epistle to the Romans, but, as Lietzmann says, "Diese Art der Combination und willkuerlichen Aenderung alttestamentlicher Stellen is bei Paulus galaeufig."[3]

Others have sought another origin for this combination of citations. Some have attributed the passage to early Christian testimonia.[4] However, Otto Michel, in his book Paulus und seine Bibel, as a part of a thorough analysis of the "testimony-hypothesis," indicates that these Scriptures may have been combined, not as a part of a written book of testimonies, but due to "einem einheitlichen Gesichtspunkt."[5] Though he does not explore this possibility, it is to be supposed that the citation was

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[2] Ibid;, p. 10.

[3] Hans Lietzmann, Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus, Part I: Die Vier Hauptbriefe, Vol. III in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), p. 19.

[4] E.g., Rendel Harris, Testimonies, Parts I and II (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1916, 1920).

[5] (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1919), p. 53.

present in the pre-Pauline tradition as a cohesive unit, due to the unity of view expressed in all of the citations. Michel's case made in 1929 certainly seems more plausible than that which regards the citations as a part of a written "testimony book." Significantly, C. H. Dodd, in his discussion of the so-called "plot text" hypothesis, completely ignores Romans 3:10-18.[6]

Michel's failure to analyse more closely this usage in Romans 3:10-18 in 1929 was remedied by him in 1955. In his excellent commentary on Romans, Michel took the position that Paul is here making use of an "urchristlichen Psalm," which had the form of "ein Klagelied." He bases this suggestion upon the strophic structure of verses 10-12, 13-14, 15-18, and upon the phrase of lament οὐκ ἔστιν, which in the unit is repeated no less than six times.[7] Indeed, in this phrase, and in its opposite form πάντες in verse 12, "liegt das eigentliche Thema dieses Klageliedes." Though certainly based on thought-forms derived from the Old Testament and Judaism, and perhaps even originating in Judaism itself, the Psalm according to Michel, as indicated by the phrase "the way of peace they have not known," has taken on Christian connotations (εἰρήνη= "Heil"). Whereas in the Jewish context the Psalm was possibly used

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[6] C. H. Dodd, <u>According to the Scriptures, The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology</u> (London: Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1952).

[7] Though Michel does not make note of it, we should recognize that the second occurrence in verse 12 is disputed. Though B, Koine, G, pl., omit, the omission may be charged to assimilation to the LXX. If the reading of Aleph and D, regarded here as the text, be considered an insertion, such an act would be difficult to account for.

for catechetical and apologetic purposes, the form of the Psalm indicates that in the Christian usage it was used liturgically. Michel even suggests that the Psalm was derived from an authoritative collection of citations, a collection which perhaps stands behind Romans 3:4,20 and 4:7f. as well.[8]

Though Paul could have composed this unit himself Michel makes a good case for his views. His analysis of the unit and the usage which he suggests commend themselves. The first strophe of the unit, which shows the most signs of interpretative reworking, gives the strongest support to his argument; Paul could have eclectically composed the unit, but it is doubtful whether the unit, especially the first phrases, would have had such a hymnic ring. In addition, the usage which is made of this unit fits into the apologetic of the early church, and it seems clear that Paul assumed that his readers would accept the unit, though composite, as authoritative. That Paul is here making use of an early Christian unit need not trouble us; we find the same occurrence elsewhere.[9]

Michel's suggestion, if accepted, makes possible an inference which is of significance concerning the trustworthiness of Codex Alexandrinus. We noted above the addition found in Codex A of the LXX in Psalm 13:3. If it is supposed that Paul himself brought

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[8]The entire preceding paragraph is derived from Michel's Der Brief an die Roemer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, ed. by the author (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), pp. 85-86.

[9]E.g., Romans 10, where a series of citations seemingly derived from pre-Pauline tradition appear.

together these various citations, then the only possibility is that the scribe copying Psalm 13 in Codex **A** inserted inadvertently this passage under the influence of Paul.[10] Several difficulties have been noted, however, concerning this view. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that Paul is making use of an early Christian Psalm of Lamentation, which may have been taken from Jewish usage, then a much broader base of influence is accepted. In this case, the archetype underlying Codex **A** also may have contained this unit, which had been derived, not from Pauline influence, but from common Jewish usage. If this is the case, then the scribe of Codex **A** could not be accused of inserting this unit; rather, the presence of this unit in Psalm 13 could be taken as evidence that Codex A and its prototype was not assimilated to the New Testament, but rather it was associated in a close way with the Jewish matrix and tradition from which the N. T. citations were derived. The close affinity between the N. T. citations and Codex **A** points in this same direction: Codex **A** does not stand under the influence of the N. T., but both are derived from the same or similar versions of the LXX current in the original environment of each. Even though Michel himself does not see this implication of his hypothesis,[11] the inference may nevertheless be made. The importance of this inference, if accepted, for assessing the validity of Codex **A** and its predecessor is great.

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[10]So Ellis, op. cit., p. 14.

[11]Michel, op. cit., p. 85.

Isaiah 59:20,21a /// Romans 11:26,27

MT:

20 וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן [a] גּוֹאֵל וּלְשָׁבֵי [b] פֶּשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב [c]
נְאֻם [d] יְהוָה׃
21 וַאֲנִי זֹאת [e] בְּרִיתִי אוֹתָם [f] אָמַר יְהוָה

[a] IQIs[a] אל ציון [b] IQIs[a] ולשבי [c] IQIs[a] ביעקוב
[d] IQIs[a] נואם [e] IQIs[a] זואת [f] IQIs[a] אתם

LXX:

20 καὶ [a] ἥξει ἕνεκεν [b] Σιων ὁ [c] ῥυόμενος [d]
καὶ ἀποστρέψει [e-] ἀσεβίας ἀπὸ Ιακωβ [e f g]
21 καὶ [h] αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' [i] ἐμοῦ διαθήκη εἶπε [j] κύριος

[a] A* 90-130-311 omit
[b] 22[c]-93 564* 407 534 Bo Epiph Hil Hi εκ
[c] ℵ* omits [d] OII 564* 233 ωρυομενος
[e-e] 86* ασεβεις; 147 απο ασ. Ιακ.; OII Ιακ. απο ασ.
[f] 544 ισραηλ [g] L" V 233 403 544 Eus Tht ειπε ν κυριος
[h] 22[c] οτι; 93 omits [i] 147 παρα
[j] L'-LI-LII-LIII-233-544 Tht Cyr Hi λεγει

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion

και ηξει – ρυο.) α΄ και ελευσεται τη σιων αγχιστευων
σ΄και ηξει τη σιων αγχιστευων (σ΄θ΄αγχιστευς 86) Eus
και αποστρ. – Ιακωβ) σ΄ α΄ και τοις αποστρεψασιν αθεσιαν εν ιακωβ
σ΄ και τοις αποστρεψασιν ασεβιαν εκ ιακωβ Pr σ΄θ΄ και τοις αποστρεψουσιν εξ αδικιας 86 after Ιακωβ) σ΄ειπε(ν) κυριος (※)

Romans 11:26,27 CF: "as it is written"

26 καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται καθὼς γέγραπται

ἥξει ἐκ Σιὼν ὁ ῥυόμενος
ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ
27καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη
ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν

The LXX in this passage deviates in several significant ways from the Hebrew as it appears in the MT. However, the Hebrew itself is somewhat obscure, especially in two aspects, and it is precisely these two aspects which have given rise to deviations in translation and transmission. First, the syntactical relationship of גֹּאֵל to the rest of the clause is not very clear: is this noun the subject of the clause, or in apposition to it? The official Jewish version,[1] the King James Version, the LXX, and the N. T. favor the first alternative; the Revised Standard Version, along with several modern translators,[2] the second. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion seemed to have preserved the ambiguity in Greek. In part, the choice of the two alternatives depends upon how one construes verse 19.[3] All things considered, the appositional

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[1] The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text, A New Translation (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955).

[2] E.g., The Complete Bible, An American Translation, trans. by J. M. Powis Smith, et. al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

[3] In verse 19, the question concerns the relationship of צָר to the rest of the sentence. The Jewish translation reads this term, not in relation to "stream," but as צָרָה, "Distress," and renders "distress will come like a river." Aquila, Symmachus, and

construction seems to be most likely. The important point is that the LXX takes "Redeemer" to be nominative, and in this the LXX is followed by the N. T.

The second obscurity in the Hebrew is the meaning of the particle לְ: does it mean "for the sake of" or "to"? The Dead Sea Scroll ($1QIs^a$), the Jewish version, the King James, the Revised Standard favor "to Zion"; the LXX the former, but in this regard the LXX is not followed by the N. T. The possible significance of this variation will be considered below.

All in all, it seems that the N. T. passage on the whole is following the rendering of the LXX. This seems clear, especially when the N. T./LXX rendering is compared with those of Aquila and Symmachus. However, it is impossible to determine what particular Mss. tradition, if any, the N. T. is following in this passage. All of the LXX variants either seek to improve the text or to bring about conformity to the N. T. No major uncial Mss. are involved in these various variants.

In the Romans passage, both occurrences of the term καί are omitted, and instead of the LXX ἕνεκεν Σιων, the N. T. reads ἐκ Σιων. It is the latter deviation which is most interesting,

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Theodotion regard "spirit" as the subject, and construes עֹז with "stream." The Revised Standard Version considers the subject to be understood ("he" -- "the Lord"), and construes עֹז with "stream." The LXX seems to try to do both. If, with the RSV, the subject of vs. 19 is considered to be understood, then the subject of vs. 20 could also be the understood "he," and "Redeemer" could be in the appositional relation. If, with the Jewish version, "distress" is regarded as the subject of vs. 19, then "Redeemer" of necessity is the subject of vs. 20.

for in this reading the N. T. seems to be following neither the LXX rendering nor the interpretation found at Qumran. Why does Paul not cite the LXX rendering? The citation is explicitly used to support the contention that "all Israel will be saved."[4] For this purpose, the meaning "on account of, for the sake of, because of," which is the translation of ἕνεκεν, is certainly most appropriate.

Several proposals may be advanced to answer this question. The first is the suggestion that in this instance ἐκ has a meaning almost synonomous with ἕνεκεν. Arndt and Gingrich, in their edition and translation of Walter Bauer's Lexicon, indicate that ἐκ may be used to denote origen, cause, motive, or reason, with the specialized meaning "by reason of, as a result of, because of" issuing from this usage.[5] In this specialized meaning ἐκ approaches the meaning of ἕνεκεν. Significantly, Paul elsewhere uses this preposition in this specific sense. In Romans 4:2, Paul states ". . .if Abraham was justified by (ἐκ) faith . . ."; in Galatians 2:16,

> we . . . know that a man is not justified by (ἐκ) works of the law but through (διά) faith in Jesus Christ, . . .we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by (ἐκ) faith in Christ, and not by (ἐκ) works of the law, because by (ἐκ) works of the law shall no one be justified.

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[4] 11:26

[5] W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of the Fourth German Edition of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der uebrigen urchristlichen Literatur (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 264.

Much the same usage appears in Galatians 3:24, ". . .the law was our custodian until Christ came, that we might be justified by (ἐκ) faith." In all of these instances, the meaning "because of" is appropriate and accurate. The citation could be rendered, therefore, "the Redeemer will come for the sake of Zion," though admittedly the rendering would lend itself to obscurity.

There is a strong possibility, however, that the preposition ἐκ was intended to have its most common meaning in this passage. The motif of the "heavenly Jerusalem" and associated concepts has already been explored above; it has been seen that in Galatians 4 Paul not only accepts the concept of the "Jerusalem above," but also seems to make use of traditions accumulated and interpreted before his ministry. In view of this, it is not unlikely that "Zion" in this passage is identified with "Jerusalem above," which is the dwelling place of God and of those faithful to Him, which at the end of the times will be fully established here. As has been indicated, the Risen Lord is present in this "Jerusalem above," awaiting the time when He will come again and receive the full sovereignty to which He is heir.[6] Therefore, this text may refer not to the Redeemer coming "to" Zion or "for the sake of" the "present Jerusalem," but "out of" the "Jerusalem above," the true

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[6] In addition to the passages cited above, cf. e.g., I Thess. 4:16, and also the interesting passage Acts 3:20ff.

Zion.[7]

The eschatological concern is supported by the interpretation of this passage by the Rabbis. In Jewish circles this text was applied to messianic times: "R. Jochanan said: When thou shalt see the time in which many troubles shall come like a river upon Israel, then expect the Messiah himself, as it is said, 'For it comes like a river . . .' and then follows, 'And there comes for Zion a Savior.'"[8] The eschatological tenor of this citation and its context has been noted by many scholars.[9] Paul, above all, was dealing here with the salvation of the Jews at the end of time.

Another influence from pre-Christian sources is Psalm 14:7 // 53:6. In discussing Romans 3:10-18, the importance of the first portion of this Psalm was noted; it is not therefore mere fancy to assume a knowledge of these specific verses on the part of Paul

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[7]So William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in the International Critical Commentary, ed. by C. A. Briggs, S. R. Driver, and A. Plummer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 337. Ellis, in Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 123, suggests that "Zion" signifies the Church as σῶμα Χριστοῦ and ναὸς θεοῦ, basing his suggestion on Delitzsch' view that in Isaiah "Zion" refers to the "remnant" and "Jacob" to previously unfaithful Jews. This suggestion by Ellis does not seem too likely, although its affinity with the propcsal above is manifest.

[8]Sanh. 98:a, noted by Hans Lietzmann, Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus, Part I: Die Vier Hauptbriefe, Vol. III in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. by the author (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), pp. 59-60; Ellis, op. cit., p. 57; et. al.

[9]E.g., Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, Tenth Edition (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), p. 250f.

or his source. In this particular verse, the Psalmist speaks of the "salvation of Israel" coming "out of Zion" (ἐκ Σιων τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Ισραηλ). The phrase ἐκ Σιων could very well have exerted its influence on this citation from Isaiah.

In the discussion of Romans 3:15-17 (Isaiah 59:7,8a) above, it was suggested, following Michel, that Paul was making use of an early Christian Psalm of Lament, which may have been based even on a Jewish lament. As indicated, Michel made the suggestion that the same composition lay behind other citations in Romans, e.g., 3:4,20 and 4:7f. This "lament" consisted of numerous citations from various sources, especially from the Psalms, fused interpretatively together. This interpretative fusion was marked especially by alterations in form and terminology, little of which was different in a marked degree from the source cited. Is it possible that such a source, perhaps even the same one, lies behind this citation? Several factors give some credence to this suggestion. The omission of καί in both instances seems stylistic or liturgical; the rendering of ל with ἐκ and the change of the personal pronoun from αὐτοῦ to αὐτῶν in verse 27b seem interpretative.[10] Note also that the whole of 27b is but one clause, apparently selectively quoted from Isaiah 27:9, from a context which is not compatible with that in Isaiah 59. In Isaiah 59 the sequence may be significant: wickedness of men (vss. 1-8), the lament and confession of the

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[10]So Ellis, op. cit., p. 140.

faithful community (vss. 9-15b), intervention (vss. 15c-18), judgement of the evil ones (vss. 18-19), and deliverance and redemption (vss. 20-21).[11] The same general movement we find in Romans. Is it unreasonable to assume that a "Psalm of Lament," as indicated above, would close without a note of deliverance? If Psalm 14 // 53 is taken as a guide, the note of deliverance is expected. No more fitting citation of deliverance could be cited than Isaiah 59:20-21a.

That Paul was making use of a pre-Pauline source would account for the presence of ἐκ, the interpretative selection from Isaiah 27:9, the omissions of καί, the assumed authority and interpretation of the passage, and the ignoring of Isaiah 59:21.[12] The nature of this cannot with absolute certainty be determined, although evidence adduced above and Paul's usage of sources elsewhere[13] give

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[11]Note that in Psalm 14 and its parallel three of the elements are present: the wickedness of men (vss. 1-3), judgement on the wicked (vss. 5,6), and deliverance (vss. 7).

[12]It is important to note that this verse, Isaiah 59:21, is not in conflict with the Christian proclamation; rather, it may be considered to be in close harmony with it. It reads, "My spirit, which is upon you, and the words, which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart from your mouth, nor from the mouth of your posterity, for the Lord has spoken, from this time forth and forevermore." The terms "spirit," "words," "posterity," and "Lord" all could assume Christian nuances; the possibility will be explored below. Why is it not quoted here? In Isaiah, the presence of "Spirit" and "words" with the people demonstrated the nearness of the time of salvation (see James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, p. 696). Since the citation is here used of the end-time, the passage in this context may have seemed inappropriate.

[13]E.g., Galatians 4:27.

some credence to the suggestion that he was making use of an early Christian Psalm based on a Jewish model.

This discussion of sources should not obscure the significance of this citation in the Epistle to the Romans. In Chapters 9-11 Paul is wrestling with the dilemma of the Jews' unbelief in the light of God's promises. In 11:25,26, Paul reaches his conclusion: "a hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel will be saved, . . ." To support this statement and conclusion, Paul cites the Scripture before us. The Scripture in this context stands at a crucial point. Whether Paul meant literally "all the Jews, and Gentiles who have believed" or "all the Israel of God, i.e., those who belong to Israel by faith," is difficult to determine. He did seem quite certain that this Scriptural citation would drive home his point.

Isaiah 61:1-2a /// Luke 4:17b, 18, 19

MT:

[1] רוּחַ אֲדֹנָי[a] יְהוִה עָלָי יַעַן מָשַׁח יְהוָה אֹתִי[b]
לְבַשֵּׂר עֲנָוִים שְׁלָחָנִי[c] לַחֲבֹשׁ[d] לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב
לִקְרֹא[e] לִשְׁבוּיִם[f] דְּרוֹר וְלָאֲסוּרִים פְּקַח־קוֹחַ:[g]
[2] לִקְרֹא[h] שְׁנַת־רָצוֹן לַיהוָה וְיוֹם[i] נָקָם לֵאלֹהֵינוּ

[a] IQIs[a] omits ארני [b] IQIs[a] אותי
[c] IQIs[a] * omits שלחני ; inserted by later hand
[d] IQIs[a] לחבוש [e] IQIs[a] לקרוא
[f] IQIs[a] לשבויים [g] 1 c pl MSS Vrs פְּקַחְקוֹחַ (vel פְּקַח?)
[h] IQIs[a] לקרוא [i] IQIs[a] ויום

LXX:

[1] πνεῦμα κυρίου[a] ἐπ' εμε οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με[b]
εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς[c] ἀπέσταλκέν με
ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους[d-] τῇ καρδίᾳ[-d]
κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν
[2] καλέσαι[e] ἐνιαυτὸν[f-] κυρίου δεκτόν[-f]
καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως
παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας

[a] Q[mg] κυριου κυριου(※) [b] Q[mg] (※) κυριος με; 62-LII 544 Eus (※) Tht read με κυριος
[c] ※* Q[mg] Sa Syh[mg] Bmss Bern[lat] Tert Ir[lat] read ταπεινοις
[d-d] 26-86 B L'-147-233 87-309 198 534 544 Bern Eus Cyr read την καρδιαν [e] 534 κηρυξαι
[f-f] Q[mg] omits δεκτον; Q[mg] OI Hi τω κυριω

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion

οι εινεκεν) α΄σ΄ διοτι θ΄ ανθων 86
εχρισε με) α΄σ΄ ηλειψε με κυριος 86

ιασασθαι) α΄ του μοτωσαι σ΄ επιδησαι θ΄ καταδησαι 86
αφεσιν) α΄ αδ(ε)ιαν 86
και τυφλοις) α΄σ΄ι΄ και τοις δεδεμενοις 86
αναβλεψιν) α΄ διαβλεψιν σ΄ απολυσιν θ΄διανοιξιν 86

Luke 4:17,18,19 CF: "he found the place where it was written"

17 καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ [a-] βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου [a]
καὶ ἀνοίξας [b] τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν τον [c] τόπον
οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον
18 πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με
εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με [d]
κηρῦξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν
ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους [e] ἐν ἀφέσει
19 κηρῦξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν

[a-a] D ο προφητης Ησαιας [b] ℵ Koine D Θ pl αναπτυξας
[c] ℵ 33 pc omit
[d] after με Koine Θ pm Ir ιασασθαι τους συντετριμμενους την καρδιαν [e] D* τεθραυματισμενους

Luke alone of all the Evangelists includes the content of this sermon in Nazareth, occurring at the beginning of Jesus' public ministry. Moreover, probably no other passage in Luke displays in a clearer fashion his freedom in working with the viable tradition at hand. The citation as we have it is clearly from the LXX tradition. Yet several divergences from the LXX tradition found in the N. T. text will prove valuable in our discussion below.

What is the significance of the location of this citation and its context in Luke's Gospel? First let us come to an understanding

of the context of this passage in the Old Testament. The passage stands in the collection of poetic utterances which make up Chapters 56-66 of the Book of Isaiah. These poems in part carry on the motifs and outlook of Chapters 40-55, yet in them additional emphases appear. This Chapter 61 is closely related to the preceding chapter, in that the theme and the eschatological mood and outlook are the same.[1] The eschatological note in these chapters is especially important, for, if the context is implied in the N. T. usage, this eschatological overtone will be significant for the interpretation of the New Testament citation. The person speaking in this passage, according to James Muilenburg, is perhaps the prophet himself, and the mission given to him is both profound and impressive: "he is the eschatological prophet in a superlative degree."[2] These are the words which Jesus, according to Luke, cites to indicate his mission.

Let us seek to answer our question concerning Luke's purpose in placing this citation at the beginning of Jesus ministry. What purpose was this citation and its context intended to serve? Several scholars, especially those who have worked the most extensively with literary critical criteria, term this pericope

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[1] James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, Volume V, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), p. 708. In this instance, as well as in many others, I am indebted to this excellent introduction and exegesis.

[2] Ibid., p. 709.

"programmatic."[3] If this term be understood to mean an antecedent announcement of a predetermined course of action, then perhaps this word is appropriate; if, however, the term be understood to mean an announcement of the total course of action, then it is not inclusive enough, since some elements, even of Jesus' earthly ministry, may be considered to be omitted, e.g., his teaching ministry. N. B. Stonehouse rejects this term also, because of the supposed omission of the Messianic note and of eschatology.[4] These reasons are not valid, since some of the actions involved might be construed as messianic, and the figure of the herald which appears in this passage is definitely eschatological in its Isaianic, and probably Lukan, context. Stonehouse himself also rejects the notion that this sermon is an "inaugural address," and rightly so; he prefers to term this pericope an "illustrative sermon," typical of many preached by Jesus.[5] He then goes on, however, to find deeper claims in it.

An element of appropriateness is to be found in each of these terms. Clearly for Luke this sermon and its related events had great significance, since it is found at the beginning of his account

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[3] J. M. Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 65; F. C. Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), p. 212; B. S. Easton, The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1926), p. 50.

[4] N. B. Stonehouse, The Witness of Luke to Christ (London: Tyndale Press, 1951), p. 76.

[5] Ibid., pp. 70-72.

of Jesus' ministry. A. R. C. Leaney, in his excellent commentary on Luke, expresses its full significance succinctly, when he says that it is "extremely apt as a summary of Lucan understanding of the historical Jesus, the source of his strength and the nature of his work."[6] This seems to be precisely the role which the pericope plays in Luke's gospel. In addition, we shall see that this passage has been related to a definite motif implemented in interpreting the work and person of Jesus. Thus, this passage resembles the citation from Isaiah 42:1ff. which we find in Matthew, which we have already examined. However, that passage seems to have been related to other motifs and was susceptible to further development and interpretation, whereas this one was not.

What inferences may be made from this pericope concerning the Lukan understanding of Jesus? Let us first consider the view that this passage seeks to show that Jesus is the Messiah.[7] Hoskyns has suggested that the phrase concerning healing of the blind is important, "because, for those who possessed sufficient insight to recognize in them the fulfillment of O. T. prophecy, they were

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[6]A. R. C. Leaney, A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke, in Black's New Testament Commentaries, ed. by Henry Chadwick (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), pp. 118-119.

[7]So B. S. Easton, op. cit., p. 52; N. Geldenhuys, Commentary on the Gospel of Luke (London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott Ltd., 1950), p. 168; S. MacLean Gilmour, "The Gospel According to St. Luke (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1952), Vol. VIII, p. 93; et. al.

manifestations of the Messiah . ."[8] As the phrase occurs in Isaiah, this work is not necessarily connected with messianic activity; such an interpretation is the result of a prior assumption. Even more important is the term ἔχρισεν. S. MacLean Gilmour is right when he asserts that this word refers to the Baptismal narrative.[9] But to what part? Many scholars have assumed that the term should be connected with the words from Psalm 2, "Thou art my Son. . .," and thus are related to the anointing of the King and by virtue of this relation to the Messianic motif. This is not an unreasonable interpretation, except for the fact that Luke himself elsewhere indicates another meaning, a meaning which is expressed in the citation itself. Indeed, this particular passage not only indicates the nature of the anointing but the consequences of it. Peter, in his sermon to Cornelius as related by Luke, states precisely the significance of this citation,

> . . . God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power; . . . he went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him.[10]

The term "anoint" is not primarily related to the words of affirmation, therefore, but to the descent of the Spirit; being anointed with the Spirit, Jesus was able to preach and to heal,

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[8] E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, ed. by Francis Noel Davey, Second Edition (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1954), p. 350.

[9] Gilmour, loc. cit.; so also Creed, op. cit., 66-67.

[10] Acts 10:38

acts which were integrally related and which were expressions of the same message: the imminent deliverance from sin and spiritual bondage and the nearness of the rule of God. Not only were these functions and this message often made known in the earthly ministry of Jesus,[11] but they were conveyed to the disciples by Jesus himself before his death and resurrection.[12]

One more factor must be recognized. Both the actions of Jesus in healing and preaching and the instructions to the disciples to continue this work were eschatological. In the light of Acts 2:17ff. this becomes clear. In this passage Joel 2:28-32 is quoted clearly as a passage of great interpretative significance for the events that have occurred,

> And in the last days it shall be, God declares,
> that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh,
> and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
> and your young men shall see visions,
> and your old men shall dream dreams;
> yea, and on my menservants and my maidservants
> in those days
> I will pour out my Spirit; and they shall prophesy.
> And I will show wonders in the heaven above
> and signs on the earth beneath,
> blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke;
> the sun shall be turned into darkness
> and the moon into blood,
> before the day of the Lord comes,
> the great and manifest day.
> And it shall be that whoever calls on the name
> of the Lord shall be saved.

Quoted with reference to the Pentacost experience, this passage is clearly invoked to explain what has happened. The Spirit has been

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[11] Luke 4:43; 5:17; 6:17-19; 8:1; 9:11; cf. 10:23-24; 24:19

[12] Luke 9:2; 10:9

poured out; from this time on the apostles perform "signs" and "wonders," viz., acts of healing, acts which are always related to the preaching of the "word of the Lord."[13] Surprisingly, however, the pouring out of the Spirit does not come from God, but from the exalted Lord: "This Jesus God raised up, and of that we all are witnesses. Being therefore exalted at the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this which you see and hear."[14] This is even more important in that it appears as an incidental comment. We can not halt here. We must recognize that even the work of Jesus, his anointing, his preaching and healing, are interpreted in the light of this background. The fulfillment of this prophesy first begins in Jesus himself, in the pouring out of the Spirit--his "anointing"--and in his words and works of power: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with mighty works and wonders and signs which God did through him in your midst, as you yourselves know--."[15] And in a real sense, all the expressions of power by the apostles and disciples are works of the risen Lord, for they are performed "in His Name."[16] In this profoundly eschatological framework, this citation from Isaiah must be understood. Jesus, according to Luke, in his earthly ministry "is the eschatological prophet in a superlative

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[13] Acts 3:1-26; 5:14-16; 9:32-43; 13:5-12; 14:8-18

[14] Acts 2:32,33

[15] Acts 2:22

[16] Acts 3:6,16; 4:10,30; 9:34

degree;" thus the citation and its Old Testament context are both implemented.

May this pericope be taken as reflecting accurately Jesus' own consciousness of his person and his mission? In other words, is this pericope chiefly the creation of Luke or his community, or is it rooted deeply in the words of Jesus himself. To be sure, the citation shows some evidence of development after the time of Jesus. It is difficult to see how Jesus could have inserted the phrase from Isaiah 58:6, and certainly the LXX was utilized when the pericope became a part of the Gentile Christian tradition. Yet certain factors point to a Hebrew and/or Aramaic antecedent form. Toy, in 1884, suggested that Luke's double use of κηρῦξαι instead of the LXX's κηρύξαι and καλέσαι was the result of an Aramaic original, since Aramaic would have translated the MT with the same word.[17] A. R. C. Leaney comments that the phrase "in your ears" is Semitic.[18] Even the insertion of Isaiah 58:6 might be explained in such a way as to indicate a Hebrew original.[19] Leaney, maintaining that the framework is Markan, sees non-Markan material between συναγωγήν in

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[17]C. H. Toy, Quotations in the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), p. 80.

[18]Leaney, op. cit., p. 119.

[19]Is it possible that very early in the tradition a scribe, noting the other meaning in the Hebrew of 61:1f, made a marginal insertion? If so, in the course of time, this marginal note may have been translated as well as the text, and found its way into the text. When the LXX exerted its influence, the words of 58:6 may have been substituted for the original marginal note, the latter being considered an erroneous reading. This is purely conjecture, however.

verse 16 and verse 22.[20] Though no agreement is present, many scholars posit a non-Markan, pre-Lukan source for the material.[21]

By far the strongest argument for the authenticity of this citation is the contention that this particular passage underlies words of Jesus whose authenticity have not been doubted. C. F. Burney maintained that the passage is reflected in the first Beatitude, whether it be taken in its Matthean or its Lukan form.[22] Perhaps the strongest of all is the suggestion that the passage underlies Jesus' reply to the emissaries of John.[23] Being sent by John, the men said to Jesus,

> "John the Baptist has sent us to you, saying, 'Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?'" In that hour he cured many of diseases and plagues and evil spirits, and on many that were blind he bestowed sight. And he answered them, "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good news preached

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[20]Leaney, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

[21]So R. H. Fuller, Luke's Witness to Jesus Christ (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1958), p. 25; A. T. Robertson, Luke the Historian in the Light of Research (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), p. 75; A. Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke, in The International Critical Commentary, Fourth Edition (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1908), p. 118; William Manson, The Gospel of Luke, in The Moffatt New Testament Commentary, ed. by James Moffatt (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930), p. 41, ascribes the pericope to the L source; Leaney, op. cit., pp. 52-53, believes it is from either a pre-Lucan document or from oral tradition.

[22]C. F. Burney, The Poetry of Our Lord (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 167.

[23]So Creed, op. cit., p. 66 and Gilmour, op. cit., p. 91.

to them. And blessed is he who takes no offense at me."[24]

Does Jesus accept this title, if it is a title, "he who is to come?" Apparently not, at least not in an unqualified sense. Jesus prefers to point to the "signs" and "wonders" which he had been performing, by the power of God, which in turn vividly indicated the imminence of the kingdom. When all this is considered, there seems to be no reason to reject the suggestion that Isaiah 61:1ff. stands behind this passage, and Jesus' own sense of mission. From this viewpoint, Jesus considered himself to be a prophet, anointed with the Spirit and with power, sent to proclaim release from sin and bondage, and the herald of the imminent rule of God. We have seen previously that Jesus at other times regarded himself as a prophet, standing in a suffering prophetic line, exercising prophetic authority; therefore this pericope adds but another facet to this understanding of himself. It is not strange that the early Christians would continue and extend this motif. In conclusion, it seems correct to say that not only Luke and his community, but even Jesus himself, took this citation in its full O. T. context; the appearance of Jesus marked the

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[24]Luke 7:20-23 (// Matthew 11:2-6). The question of the identity of "he who is to come" is still open. It would seem reasonable to assume that John the Baptist intended to refer to the Messiah by this title, and perhaps Luke would agree with this identification. Jesus apparently did not accept this identification, preferring to regard himself as the figure portrayed in the citation, the eschatological prophet. Neither does it seem likely that this phrase refers to the "prophet like unto Moses," although at least by the time of Luke, and perhaps before, this motif seems to have been fused with the figure of the prophet of Isaiah 61:1 (see Acts 3:22,23; 7:37; and especially 7:22 for evidence supporting this suggestion).

appearance of the Herald of the Kingdom of God, the eschatological prophet *par excellence*.

Isaiah 65:1,2 /// Romans 10:20,21

MT:

[1]נִדְרַשְׁתִּי לְלוֹא שָׁאֲלוּ[a] נִמְצֵאתִי לְלוֹא[b] בִקָּשׁוּנִי[c]
אָמַרְתִּי הִנֵּנִי הִנֵּנִי אֶל-גּוֹי לוֹא[d]קֹרָא[e] בְשִׁמִי:[f]
[2]פֵּרַשְׂתִּי יָדַי כָּל[g]-הַיּוֹם אֶל-עַם סוֹרֵר[h]
הַהֹלְכִים הַדֶּרֶךְ לוֹא[i]טוֹב אַחַר מַחְשְׁבֹתֵיהֶם:[j]

[a]IQIs[a] שאלוני; LXX, Itala, Syriac presuppose this reading
[b]IQIs[a] ללוא [c]IQIs[a] בקשוני [d]IQIs[a] לוא
[e]1 c קָרָא ; Targum, Syriac, 1 c read קְרֵא
[f]IQIs[a] בשמי א [g]IQIs[a] כול
[h]Burrows transcribes IQIs[a] as סורה ; Rahlfs either מורה or סורה; MSS seems to read מורה; after סורר, LXX, Itala add equivalent of ומורה [i]IQIs[a] לוא
[j]IQIs[a] מחשבותיהמה

LXX:

[1][a-b]ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην[bc] τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ[d] ζητοῦσιν[e]
εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν[f]
εἶπα ἰδού εἰμι τῷ ἔθνει οἳ οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν
τὸ ὄνομά μου[a]
[2][g-]ἐξεπέτασα[h] τὰς χεῖράς μου [i-]ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν[i]
πρὸς[j] λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα [k-]καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα[k]
οἳ οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδῷ ἀληθινῇ
ἀλλ' ὀπίσω τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν[g]

[a-a]565 omits the whole verse
[b-b]62-LII 403 Orig Clem transpose with ευρεθην
[c]א[c] Q-26 O-88 C 407 410 534 Just εγενηθην
[d]106 36* 490 306 omit [e]B V transpose with επερωτωσιν [f]147 534 Ath ερωτωσιν
[g-g]565 omits the whole verse
[h]OII διεπετ.; 544 Eus read επι δε σε εξ.
[i-i]Just Ath omit [j]L"-233 198 544 Just Clem Tht επι
[k-k]B-Q-OI labels + ; Tert Cypr Or[lat] add mihi

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion

εμφανης εγενομην) α΄θ΄ εξεζητηθην

Romans 10:20,21 CF: "and Isaiah is so bold as to say"

20 Ἡσαιας δὲ [a-] ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ [a] λέγει
εὑρέθην τοῖς [b] ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν
ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς [c] ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν
21 πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει
ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖρας μου
πρὸς [d] λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα [e-] καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα [e]

[a-a] D^{*} G it omit [b] P^{46} B D^{*} G εν τοις [c] B D^{*} εν τοις
[d] D C^{lem} επι [e-e] G omits

The LXX in this passage diverges in several points from the MT. With the Old Latin and Syriac versions, the LXX supplies the pronominal object "me" in the first clause; the MT reads "to a nation not called by my name," a clause in which the LXX, as well as the Targum and Syriac, has an active rather than passive reading. In addition, the LXX reading καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα in verse two seems to presuppose the reading וּמוֹרֶה, which does not appear in the MT, but for which there is some evidence in $1QIs^{a}$. This latter reading is labeled as doubtful with the sign ÷ in B,Q,88, and the Hexaplaric Syriac, doubtless under the influence of the MT.

In the LXX only several of the variants are of importance. The transposition of ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην and εὑρέθην by what Ziegler terms the Hexaplaric group seems to be assimilation to Romans. A

true variant appears in the reading ἐγενόμην by **A**,ℵ*, and **A**thanasius, as against the reading ἐγενόμην by ℵ^{c}, Q-26, B, V, 88, and allies, and Justin. **A** third variant occurs in the transposition of ζητοῦσιν and ἐπερωπῶσιν by B,V, and allies, which is apparently a correction to the MT.

The relationship between the LXX text and variants on one hand, and the N. T. text on the other, is instructive. There can be no doubt but that the N. T. follows the **LXX** in general, though with some modifications. Following **A** and its allies, and against B and its followers, the N. T. reads ἐγενόμην. **E**xcept for this divergence from B in this instance, it would have appeared that the N. T. follows B in the transposition of ζητοῦσιν and ἐπερωτῶσιν; however, in the light of the divergence noted above, it seems that no such influence of B and its predecessor can be adduced. The N. T., like B, arrives at a text which is in conformity to the MT, except that the clauses are transposed. In this transposition of the first two clauses, the N. T. disagrees with **A**; it is significant that **A** and its allies show no signs of being conformed to the N. T. reading.

Turning to the N. T., several modifications of the LXX are found, in part due to the Hebrew, and in part due to other factors. The transposition of verbs in the first two clauses does bring about closer conformity to the Hebrew; yet the reversal of order of the clauses stands against it. This reversal of order could have interpretative significance, for Paul is here seeking to emphasize

the fact that the Gentiles already "have found" the Lord; by changing the order of the clauses, this clause which stood second originally receives the emphasis desired. Also, it should be noted that the Greek Aorist, which somewhat incorrectly renders the tolerative Niphal of the Hebrew, is necessary for Paul's application. In the N. T., the phrase ὅλην τὰν ἡμέραν is placed at the beginning of its clause; this shift in position likewise could serve to emphasize the persistent intransigent disbelief of the Jews with reference to the Christian proclamation. It would appear, therefore, that modifications have been made principally in word-order in the citation for interpretative reasons although in general the citation follows the LXX.

This citation appears in a context already familiar because of previous discussions in this paper. It appears at the end of a long section dealing with the proclamation of the Christian gospel. Verse 13 gives the Scriptural foundation of the Gospel (Joel 2:32); verses 14-17, consisting of a chain of questions and citations, present the rationale for Christian preaching; verse 18, with a citation from Psalm 19:4, proves that the proclamation has been world-wide; verses 20-21, including a citation from Deut. 32:21 and the citation before us deal with the disbelief of the Jews. The whole passage is a part of Paul's discussion concerning the Jews, their unbelief, and their ultimate salvation.

It has been suggested, with some evidence, that in citations preceding the one before us Paul has been drawing on the interpretative tradition of the church; this seems likely in the case

of this citation as well. The modifications within this citation, several of which seem interpretative, would support this contention. The term ἔθνεσι, though not quoted in this passage, would have important connotations within the context of the Gentile mission.

Yet another indication is present that this citation as well is drawn from pre-Pauline tradition: the presence of the phrase ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν. In our discussion of II Corinthians 6:1-2 (citing Isaiah 49:8), we noted the eschatological significance of the term ἡμέρα, and also that the unit was probably derived from pre-Pauline tradition. The passage reads,

> . . .we entreat you not to accept the grace of God in vain. For he says,
> 'At the acceptable time I have listened to you,
> and helped you on the day of salvation.'
> Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation.

Clearly the term ἡμέρα signifies the time during which the Gospel is being preached, and during which men may respond; the same meaning seems probable in the passage before us. Elsewhere we find the same eschatological connotation. In Romans 8:36, after having alluded to present persecution, Paul quotes Psalm 44:23, "For your sake we are being put to death all day long (ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν)," a phrase identical with the one in the citation from Isaiah 65:2. In Hebrews, the same eschatological, soteriological connotations are present.[1] In the Revelation, when the time of full and continuous salvation has come, the term seems to be extended to apply to this

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[1] Cf. Hebrews 3:7, 3:13, 4:4,7, 7:8,9.

transformed time.[2] Add to these references the evidence accumulated in the discussion of II Corinthians 6:1-2, and the phrase may unmistakably be accepted as an authentic part of the eschatological vocabulary of the Christian proclamation.[3] This insight makes almost certain the ascription of this citation to the pre-Pauline hermeneutic tradition.

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[2] Rev. 21:25, 22:5.

[3] Cf. Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, in the Tenth Edition of the Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), p. 230ff.

Isaiah 66:1,2a // Acts 7:48b, 49

MT:

כֹּה[a] אָמַר יְהוָה הַשָּׁמַיִם כִּסְאִי וְהָאָרֶץ[b] הֲדֹם[c] רַגְלָי
אֵי־זֶה בַּיִת אֲשֶׁר תִּבְנוּ־לִי[d] וְאֵי־זֶה מָקוֹם[e] מְנוּחָתִי׃
וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה יָדִי עָשְׂתָה[g] וַיִּהְיוּ[h] כָּל־אֵלֶּה נְאֻם[i] יְהוָה

[a]IQIs[a] כוה [b]IQIs[a] * וארץ ; ה inserted by original hand
[c]IQIs[a] הדום [d]IQIs[a] לי א [e]Masora reads prps מָקוֹם
[f]IQIs[a] כול [g]IQIs[a] והיו ; LXX, Syriac וְלִי הָיוּ
[h]IQIs[a] כול [i]IQIs[a] נואם

LXX:

[1][a-]οὕτως λέγει κύριος[a]
ὁ[b] οὐρανός [c-]μοι θρόνος[c]
[d-]ἡ δὲ[de] γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου
ποῖον[f] οἶκον[g] οἰκοδομήσετέ[h] μοι[i]
ἢ[j] ποῖος[k] τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς[l] μου[m]
[2][n-]πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα[m] [o-]ἐποίησεν ἡ χείρ μου[o]
καὶ ἔστιν ἐμὰ[p] [q-]πάντα ταῦτα[q] λέγει κύριος

[a-a]א* 88 omit [b]565 omits
[c-c]Q B 565 μου θρ.; OII Co Syh θρ. μου
[d-d]O L'-93-62 449' 538 544 Syh Just Eus Tht Cypr και η
[e]Sa Ir[lat] omit δε [f]V 62 544 Tht ποιον(※) τουτον
[g]A* omits;456 τουτον; 544 οικον μου
[h]147 87 198 534 544 οικοδομησατε
[i]26 L' 239 Sa Just Eus Tht μοι λεγει κυριος
[j]O" L'-62-86[c]-456 449' 534 538 544 Syh Eus Tht και
[k]26-86[txt] 534 Barn Cypr τις; V L'-62-456 403' 544 Tht ποιος (※) ουτος
[l]62 Tht κατοικησεως
[m]OII adds εστι [n-n]OI CI transpose 321; 26 omits ταυτα; ℵ* λεγει κυριος και επι τινα επιβλεψω
[o-c]OII 403 Eus η χειρ μου εποιησεν [p]ℵ* αμα ; 106 εμοι
[q-q]OI 87-CI 46 239-407 534 544 Eus Ath Tht ταυτα παντα

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion

ποιον) θ΄(σ΄86) ποιον (א-) τουτον Syh 86
ποιος) θ΄ ποιος (א)ουτος Q Syh
καταπαυσεως) α΄ ανα(παυσεως) 86
εστιν εμα) α΄σ΄θ΄ εγενοντο 86
και επι τινα) α΄σ΄θ΄ προς δε τουτον 86

Acts 7:48b,49 CF: "as the prophet says"

48 [a-]ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν χειροποιήτοις κατοικεῖ[a]
καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει
49 ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος
[b-]ἡ δὲ[b] γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου
ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ[c] μοι λέγει κύριος
ἢ τίς[d] τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου
οὐχὶ ἡ χείρ μου ἐποίησεν ταύτα πάντα

[a-a]D it o δε υψιστος ου κατοικει εν χειροποιητοις
[b-b]B h Syp και η [c]B οικοδομησατε [d]D h ποιος

There is little reason to linger long over the discussion of this citation. Clearly this citation is taken from the LXX, and, with the exception of the word τίς, follows the non-Vaticanus textual tradition. It will also be noted that the term λέγει κύριος is in a different place than it appears in the LXX; either it is an insertion or the transferral of the same declaration found both at the beginning and the end of the passage in the LXX. The words in the last line of the NT quotation have been rearranged somewhat from the LXX form. With regard to the first observation, it may be noted that the same variant appears in the citation of this verse

in Barnabas 16:2; this parallel may be due either to the influence of Acts or to a common Greek version.

This citation is used by Stephen to support from Scripture the condemnation of the attitude of excessive reverence for the Temple. Seemingly Stephen is not alone in holding this viewpoint, and it is likely that this material perhaps arose out of and was maintained by persons of kindred mind with Stephen. Certainly it may be said that Stephen and those of like mind stood in a long tradition of criticism of this view of the Temple, a tradition which extends far back into the Old Testament. Jeremiah and other prophets were devastating in their condemnation of the view that the Temple was Yahweh's dwelling place. Even the prophecy of the eternity of David's house in II Samuel, according to one scholar, was used by a later writer as the means of an attack upon the Temple.[1]

Stephen finds allies not only in the Old Testament but in the New. The discussion of Jesus with the Samaritan woman concerning the proper place and manner of worship expresses the same conviction;[2] Paul's words, according to Luke, in his sermon on the Areopagus gives yet another expression of it;[3] and a number of indications are present in the New Testament literature that the

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[1]George B. Caird, "First and Second Books of Samuel (Introduction and Exegesis)," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953), Vol. II, pp. 1082-1088, on II Samuel 7:1-29.

[2]John 4:7-24

[3]Acts 17:24-29

Christian Church was regarded as the spiritual Temple.[4] Jesus' words at the time of the Temple-Cleansing do not exclude this view, and even His citation of these words in reference to swearing[5] may indicate that, being cognizant of this passage, He may have employed it at other times in teachings concerning the Temple which have not been preserved. Indeed, the view expressed by Stephen fits well into the imagery of the early Christians concerning the New Jerusalem and kindred conceptions, as they are found in the Apocalypse of John, and elsewhere. This conviction clearly had great meaning for the Christians in their development and practice of Christian worship, especially as they were forced out of the Jewish synagogue. In turn, it is not unlikely that this historical process had its influence upon this narrative of the sermon of Stephen.

This was a real issue, not only as the Christians were in conflict with the Jews, but also in their conflict with the pagan world. In fact, this view condemned in Stephen's speech was widely held in the Hellenistic world by pagans. The recognition of this factor brings into sharper focus the incisiveness of the Christian message, and encourages great appreciation for the mighty struggle which was carried out by the early Christians, which is only faintly reflected at times in the extant material.

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[4]So Ephesians 2:21. This image is probably reflected in the sayings concerning the temple as the "body of Jesus," Matt. 26:61; 27:40; John 2:19, and perhaps in a different application in Paul's words concerning the body of the believer as the temple of the Spirit, I Cor. 3:16-17; II Cor. 6:16.

[5]Matt. 5:34-35

For the sake of clarity, it would be well to state concisely the manner in which this citation is used. The passage in Second Isaiah stands in the line of Old Testament criticism of excessive reverence for the Temple itself; as such it is compatible and appropriate to Stephen's argument. Other than in this respect, the context of the citation in Second Isaiah is not utilized in this narrative. Therefore, it may be said that the citation was taken neither out of context nor in context; generally the context and Isaianic intent was involved, but specifically it was not. By way of closing, however, a suggestion should be made, which at a later time will be explored. The citation in Isaiah reads in this way,

> Thus says the Lord:
> "Heaven is my throne
> and the earth is my footstool;
> what is the house which you would build for me,
> and what is the place of my rest?
> All these things my hand has made,
> and so all these things are mine,
> says the Lord.
> But this is the man to whom I will look,
> he that is humble and contrite in spirit,
> and trembles at my word." (RSV)

The latter portion of this quotation is concerned with the "contrite in spirit" and the hearing of the "word." This note will be discussed at a later time along with kindred material.

CHAPTER III

ALLUSIONS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

I. DEFINITION OF THE TERM "ALLUSION"

The term "quotation" has been used above to mean a passage in a New Testament writing which, either by similarity or identity of sufficient words, phrases, or ideas, or by a citation formula, is identified as being taken from a specific Old Testament work. However, when the citation formula is absent, it sometimes becomes difficult to distinguish between a quotation and an "allusion."

In the discussion above concerning "quotation," the presence of the intention to cite Scripture was considered necessary for the passage to be considered a quotation. This may be taken up at this point. In an "allusion," as the term will be used, this intention to cite is not discernable. Rather, the Old Testament passage appears in the New Testament passage in an unconscious or unintentional fashion. Instead of quoting Scripture as authority, the document or writer in which an allusion appears uses the Old Testament passage or phrase without apologetic intent, either as a result of tradition, hymnody, or other activities developed within the Christian community. This distinction is of importance in assessing the significance of an allusion.

II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ALLUSIONS

It has been suggested that, on the one hand, a quotation may indicate not only the immediate purpose of the author, but also the motifs, thought, and tradition which that author received, as well as the circles in which that author moved. On the other hand, the usage of the quotation in the tradition prior to the author of the document in which it appears can be determined by critical analysis and inference. In the case of allusions, the same inferences may be much more definite. If a certain passage of Old Testament Scripture appears, for instance, in a New Testament passage that is hymnic, then the inference may be made with certainty that the portion of scripture was not only known and accepted in the circle out of which that particular document arose, but also was the subject of previous interpretation and thought, to the degree that it had worked its way into the worship and prayer of the particular circle.

Yet another significance of allusion is to be recognized. In our discussion of quotations, in several instances sources lying behind the extant work were discerned. Such sources may with validity be doubted, but only if allusions from the same or kindred passages are not to be found. If such allusions are found in the same source, then the evidence is strong. If a passage appears in various documents within the New Testament, either as a quotation or an allusion, or both, then the motif embodied in these quotations or allusions may be regarded with virtual certainty as

belonging to the common stock of Christian tradition. If, however, the possibility of an allusion exists, yet it finds no reflection elsewhere, then the possibility must be regarded as improbable. Allusions, especially with regard to words or short phrases, may be due not to influence but to coincidence or language flavoring.

In this section of the paper, no attempt will be made to deal with allusions other than with regard to passages, phrases, or words. The discussion of major motifs will be reserved for the final section, for such a discussion can only be based upon the evidence derived from the analysis of the direct citations and from the allusions present in the New Testament.

These allusions will be considered individually; in each case the effort will be made to determine whether or not they are certain, probable, or improbable. They will be considered, not in the order of their appearance in II Isaiah as in the quotations, but in the order of the New Testament documents in which they appear. The sources from which these suggested allusions were drawn will be adequately indicated in the following footnotes.

III. ALLUSIONS TO SECOND AND THIRD ISAIAH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Pauline Letters

For the purposes of this analysis all of the letters of Paul will be considered together, with particular attention being paid to the specific context of each allusion. The letters which are here considered to be authentically Pauline are: I Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, I and II Corinthians, Romans, and Philemon. II Thessalonians, Ephesians and Colossians will be regarded as post-Pauline material.

Romans 1:20. Nestle[1] suggests that this verse may have some relation to Isaiah 40:26,28. The verse reads, "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made." It is true that in content the verse is not incompatible with the thought of Isaiah 40:26,28; it is also true that nothing in the verse supports any relationship whatever. The Hebrew terms ראה and ברא, which are crucial in these verses, are rendered by terms in the LXX and the other Greek versions which are totally different than those which Paul uses. As far as the content is concerned, the same concept appears in the Old Testament in Psalm 19:1-4, Job 12:7-9, and elsewhere. Outside of the Old

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[1]Eberhard Nestle, ed., Novum Testamentum Graece (Stuttgart: Privileg. Wuertt. Bibelanstalt, [n. d.]), p. 392.

Testament, we find similar thought in the Wisdom of Solomon, Chapters 13-15, a source which Paul may well be using in this section.[2] The terminology appears also in several Greek writers. The conclusion must be drawn, therefore, that an allusion to Isaiah 40:26,28 is highly unlikely.

Philippians 2:9. This passage, which Nestle relates to Isaiah 42:8,[3] is of supreme importance. Not only does the style of the verse and its context indicate a hymnic and almost creedal source, but the interpretative work which lies behind this passage is crucial to a more incisive understanding of New Testament thought. In Isaiah 42:8, Yahweh is speaking of the divine intervention about to take place; with words of power, He says, "I am the Lord, that is my name; my glory I give to no other, nor my praise to graven images." The Hebrew for the first phrase, which is decisive, reads, יְהוָה הוּא שְׁמִי ; in these words the power of the utterance can be observed. James Muilenburg comments on this phrase, "Name and person are one; name signifies identity."[4] Astonishingly, these words are used with reference to the person of the Risen One; this is the name

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[2]Nestle, loc. cit.; also Robert H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times With an Introduction to the Apocrypha (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), pp. 342 ff.

[3]Nestle, op. cit., p. 503.

[4]James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. V, p. 469, citing Pedersen, Israel, Its Life and Culture, I-II, pp. 245-59.

"above every name"[5] bestowed upon him by God Himself, as a result of his humiliation and exaltation. We have had occasion several times above to observe this identification between the Risen One and the Lord. It has been suggested that verses 10 and 11 reflect Isaiah 45:23 (a passage cited in Romans 14:11), as well as Isaiah 42:8. Paul does not hesitate to ascribe, on the basis of these two passages, the full power, sovereignty, and dignity of the Lord God to the Risen One; in at least two instances the title is explicitly used of the Risen One.[6] Therefore, in this verse may be decerned a clear allusion to Isaiah 42:8, an allusion which grew out of the interpretative work of the early, and probably pre-Pauline, Christian church.

Note should also be taken of the context in Isaiah of this allusion. It will be discussed below in connection with other portions of this section. It may well be that it will be possible to make use of the context at another time to explore further the interpretative work of the early Church.

II Corinthians 6:18. Nestle, among other references, sees some allusion in this passage to Isaiah 43:6.[7] The passage itself is an interpretative citation of II Samuel 7:14, with only the similarity in thought providing the connection with Jeremiah 31:9 and Hosea 2:1. If the passage owes anything to Isaiah 43:6,

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[5]Philippians 2:9; Ephesians 1:21; see also Hebrews 1:3ff.

[6]Romans 10:9, I Corinthians 12:3; cf. John 13:13.

[7]Nestle, op. cit., p. 467.

it is the addition of the phrase καὶ θυγατέρας to the citation from II Samuel. How may we assess this situation? It has been suggested above that this passage, whether or not it is Pauline, is drawn from circles of thought similar to the material in the Revelation of John of Patmos. In addition, throughout the passage it displays interpretative alteration. Although Isaiah 52:11 is quoted earlier in this unit, and although the unit itself is a fusion of several differing citations, it is not possible to show that the allusion to Isaiah 43:6 is definite. The addition could be regarded only as an interpretative insertion. Nevertheless, since Isaiah is used in this unit, and since the apocalyptic material extant in the Revelation of John makes extensive use of II and III Isaiah, the allusion must be regarded as possible.

II Corinthians 5:17. In this verse, Paul says, "Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come (ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καίνα)." Here the latter clause, "the old has passed away, behold, the new has come," is of special interest. Nestle[8] considers this passage to be related to Isaiah 43:18 and/or 65:17; Ellis[9] likewise sees some relationship to the former passage. The latter passage concerns the "new heaven and new earth," a motif which arises out of the eschatological renewal at

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[8]Nestle, ibid., p. 465.

[9]E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 153.

the end of the times. Since Paul is concerned with transformation which takes place at the present time, and since he is specifically concerned not with cosmic or general transformation, but with individual recreation, the allusion to 65:17 may be considered unlikely. Isaiah 43:18 is closer to Paul's words. However, the phrasing in Isaiah is dissimilar to that of Paul; in addition, 43:18 occurs in a portion of Isaiah little used elsewhere. In fact, only the term τὰ ἀρχαῖα is held in common with 43:18, at least so far as the extant Greek versions are concerned. Therefore, it seems highly unlikely that II Corinthians 5:17 includes an allusion to Isaiah 43:18.

An allusion may be discerned to another passage in II Isaiah. The other passage is Isaiah 42:9. The LXX renders τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἰδοὺ ἤκασι, καὶ καινὰ ἃ ἐγὼ ἀναγγελῶ, a reading which again, except for καινα, is dissimilar to Paul's statement. However, Paul's reading is very close to the Hebrew; in fact so close that Paul's statement is almost a citation. The Hebrew reads, אֲנִי מַגִּיד חֲדָשׁוֹת הֶנָּה-בָּאוּ וַחֲדָשׁוֹת; Paul therefore seems to be reflecting the Hebrew of this verse. Paul's allusion to 42:8 in Phil. 2:9 makes probable the allusion to 42:9 in this passage.

I Corinthians 1:20. Nestle[10] suggests some relationship between this passage and Isaiah 44:25. In addition, he refers the reader to Isaiah 19:11f., Isaiah 33:18, and Job 12:17. Paul says

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[10]Nestle, op, cit., p. 427.

in this verse, "Where is the wise man? Where is the scribe? Where is the debater of this age? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" In tenor, this passage is similar to the thought of all the passages, including Isaiah 44:25, to which Nestle refers; yet no striking similarity is found to any of them. Since (1) Paul has just quoted from Isaiah 29:14 (in verse 19), and (2) Paul is fond of rhetorical questions such as we find in this passage, and (3) the concept expressed by Paul is not peculiar with II Isaiah, the allusion must be regarded as only possible.

I Corinthians 14:25. Both Nestle[11] and Ellis consider a portion of this verse to be an allusion to Isaiah 45:14. Paul is discussing the necessity of making sense when speaking in church; he says, beginning with verse 24, "But if all prophesy, and an unbeliever or outsider enters, he is convicted by all, he is called to account by all, the secrets of his heart are disclosed; and so, falling on his face, he will worship God and declare that God is really among you." Of these phrases, the words, "secrets," "falling on his face," and "worship," are to be considered as an interpretative, perhaps conscious, reference to Daniel 2:47 f. The phrase "God is with you" (ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν) is not found in Daniel; if it is from the Old Testament, we must look elsewhere. In Isaiah 45:14 and in Zechariah 8:23, we find the same motif of the confession and supplication of the Gentiles. In both of these passages we find phrases, embodying the confession, similar to that which we

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[11]Nestle, ibid., 451; Ellis, loc. cit.

find in Paul: the phrase in Isaiah 45:14 reads ἐν σοὶ ὁ θεός ἐστι, whereas the phrase in Zechariah 8:23 reads ὁ θεὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐστιν. Structurally, the Pauline phrase seems closer to Zechariah, rather than Isaiah. If the phrase is an allusion to an Old Testament passage, it could allude either to Zechariah 8:23, Isaiah 45:14, or both. It may not be an allusion to either; it remains only a possibility.

Romans 11:33. The verse reads, "O the depth (βάθος) of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable (ἀνεξερεύνητα) are his judgments and how inscrutable (ἀνεξιχνίαστοι) are his ways!" As Nestle[12] indicates, this verse may contain a possible allusion to Isaiah 45:15, "Truly, thou art a God who hidest thyself." However, also as he indicates, the allusion could be to the LXX of Psalm 76:20 or to the Wisdom of Solomon 17:1. In addition, kindred thought and even similarity of terminology is to be found in Proverbs 5:9 and 9:10. The motif of the inscrutability of God is quite widespread in the Old Testament.

It has been proposed above, on other grounds, that the unit in which this allusion is said to occur is actually to be regarded as pre-Pauline material. In the discussion in that place, verse 33 was regarded as being integrally related to the citations in 33 and 34, which in turn is bound up with verse 36. The unit as a whole is therefore considered to be pre-Pauline. Though it was not noted above, some of the terms in verse 33 are definitely Hellenistic

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[12]Nestle, ibid., p. 415.

in flavor.[13] This consideration makes unlikely a direct connection between the Old Testament Scriptures and this Pauline statement. If allusions are to be found here to Isaiah, the Old Testament, or apocryphal material, they seem to be mediated by liturgical material which Paul utilizes in this place. Therefore, the allusion can not be established with any degree of certainty.

Romans 9:21. Nestle[14] suggests that in the statement "Will what is molded say to its molder, 'Why have you made me thus?'", Paul is alluding to either Isaiah 29:16 or 45:9 or both. A close examination will show that the phrase which is in question--"Will what is molded say to its molder. . ."-- is an almost exact citation of Isaiah 29:16. Although possible, it is highly unlikely that it alludes to Isaiah 45:9.

Philippians 2:10,11. These verses contain one of the clearest and most significant allusions to Second Isaiah which we will consider. In order that the allusion to Isaiah 45:23 be definitely established, the text of the relevant portion of that verse, as well as the quotation of that verse in Romans 14:11 and the allusion in the verse before us, is given.[15]

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[13] William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and adapted from Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der uebrigen urchristlichen Literatur, Fourth German Edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 64, 129, indicate the Hellenistic usage of the three Greek words indicated above.

[14] Nestle, op. cit., p. 410.

[15] The variants in the LXX have been presented in the course of the discussion above on Romans 14:11, and will not be repeated at this time.

LXX	Romans 14:11	Phil. 2:10,11
ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ	ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ	ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων
καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα	καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται	καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται[a] ὅτι Κυριος Ιησους Χριστος
τῷ θεῷ	τῷ θεῷ	εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός

[a] A C Koine D G read εξομολογησεται; text is supported by P^{46} B ℵ 1611 Ir Clem Orig

Both Nestle[16] and Ellis[17] accept this relation. In fact, as easily decerned, the usage of 45:23 in Philippians is almost a quotation without a citation formula.

It has been suggested above that the citation of this portion of Isaiah in Romans 14:11 carries with it the identification of Jesus as the Lord, and evidence was submitted to support that contention. The same identification is clearly present in the passage before us. The full sovereignty of the Lord Yahweh in Second Isaiah is here ascribed to the Risen Lord. To him every knee is to be bowed in homage, and his lordship every thing is to confess. Through this confession God is glorified. The same conviction appears in two other New Testament documents, widely divergent in their nature and origin. In John 5:23f, we find these

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[16] Nestle, op. cit., p. 504.

[17] Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

words, "The Father has given all judgment to the Son, that all may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." Here we find the same note of sovereignty exercised through judgment on the part of the Risen One, and also the identity of the "honor of the Father" and the "honor of the Son." In Revelation 5:12 the words of praise which in 5:13 are addressed to both the Father and the Lamb are addressed solely to the Lamb, "Worthy is the Lamb who was slain, to receive power and wealth and wisdom and might and honor and glory and blessing!" In these passages, the identification of the Risen One with the Lord of Second Isaiah is unmistakable.

Let it not be assumed that the motif could be taken piecemeal from the Old Testament. Rather, it would be altered by interpretation. In Second Isaiah the Lord is none other than Yahweh; in the New Testament Yahweh is the Father, and Jesus is the Lord by virtue of his exaltation by Yahweh Himself. Here the relationship with the Resurrection is clearly manifest, for it was through the Resurrection that the Exaltation took place. The interpretative work which lies behind this passage has left several marks: the transposition of πᾶν γόνυ and κάμψῃ, and the change in endings of κάμψῃ and ἐξομολογήσηται as a result of the different syntactical structure. These changes, as well as the interpretative insertions which are also present in the passage, support the contention that the material is an expression of a long interpretative tradition.

Galatians 1:15. Both Nestle[18] and Ellis[19] see in this verse an allusion to Isaiah 49:1. Paul says, "But when he who had set me apart before I was born (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου) and had called (καλέσας) me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, . . ." The first of these phrases might be regarded as an exact allusion to the LXX rendering of Isaiah 49:1, the second element, that of being "called," is also present in the context of this Isaianic passage. These are two strong indications that this is an allusion to the verse in Isaiah. It should be noted, however, that the first expression also occurs in Psalm 22:10 in a similar context; a similar expression is also to be found in Jeremiah 1:5.

Several considerations make it highly likely that an allusion is present in these phrases to Isaiah 49:1. First, there are some significant indications in the New Testament that Paul and other apostles and missionaries were identified with the servant passages. Acts 13:47 directly cites Isaiah 49:6 with reference to Paul. As we shall see below, there is another indication that Paul was aware of this passage and its significance for him. Secondly, in II Corinthians 6:12, Paul quotes a portion of Isaiah 49:8, and alludes to other verses in this chapter in the immediate context. Also, he makes use of a portion of 49:18 in another citation. There can be no doubt but that Paul was thoroughly acquainted with this chapter. Thirdly, the appearance and the exact words of the first phrase and the note

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[18]Nestle, op. cit., p. 480.

[19]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

of "calling" in the second makes the allusion conclusive.

One further comment should be made. In I Corinthians 15:10 we find a curious figure used by Paul: he refers to himself as "one untimely born," or as "one born prematurely." There is a strong possibility that that figure and the phrase before us indicates a great deal of thought by Paul concerning his mission and his calling; if this is the case, his willingness to allude to a section dealing with the servant of the Lord as applied to himself is of importance in assessing the meaning of that motif.

Philippians 2:7,11. C. H. Dodd[20] sees in the terms δούλου and δόξαν, appearing in these two verses respectively, an allusion to Isaiah 49:3, "And he said to me, 'You are my servant (LXX:δοῦλός μου) Israel, in whom I will be glorified' (LXX:δοξασθήσομαι)." In this instance, parallels in terminology are to be found, and perhaps a true allusion is to be found to this verse in Isaiah. Yet the word of address "Israel" does present some difficulties, as well as the fact that the rest of the context does not seem to be used with reference to Christ; rather, in some instances, verses in the context are quoted elsewhere in the New Testament with reference to the disciples and early Christians, apparently being spoken by the Risen Lord. A possible allusion, therefore, is present; but to be considered probable, more evidence must be received.

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[20]C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology (London: Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1952), p. 91.

Philippians 2:16. Both Nestle[21] and Ellis[22] see in the phrase εἰς κὲνον ἐκοπίασα an allusion to Isaiah 49:4, "But I said, I have labored in vain . . .(κενῶς ἐκοπίασα)." In addition, Ellis points out a possible allusion to Isaiah 65:23 of the LXX, "They shall not labor in vain . . .(οὐ κοπιάσουσιν εἰς κενὸν)." The phrase bears a marked resemblance to these passages, especially to Isaiah 49:4. Even though the LXX renders κενῶς, the Hebrew לָרִיק could as properly be rendered εἰς κενόν.

Paul makes use of this phrase a number of times in his letters,[23] so much so that it is almost technical in its usage. The assumption may be made that it had particular meaning for Paul, meaning which was based on reflection concerning the Scriptures. Also, it should be noted that Isaiah 65:23 is part of a section of Isaiah which was extensively used by circles characterized by eschatological interest. It has been indicated above that Paul was certainly conversant with and even made use of some of the material arising out of these circles. Yet it must also be said that both phrases, although not exceedingly common, appear in a number of Hellenistic writers, and therefore may not be due to the influence of the Old Testament text at all. All things considered, the allusion to Isaiah 49:4 seems likely.

II Corinthians 7:4,6,9. Paul in II Corinthians 7:6 says, "But

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[21]Nestle, op. cit., p. 504.

[22]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

[23]Cf. II Corinthians 1:14; Galatians 2:2, 4:11.

God, who comforts the downcast, comforted us (ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς) by the coming of Titus." Both Nestle[24] and Ellis[25] see in this verse an allusion to Isaiah 49:13, which reads, in part, "For the Lord . . . has comforted the afflicted of his people (LXX: τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ παρεκάλεσεν)." This allusion seems probable for several reasons. First, Paul has quoted Isaiah 49:8 in II Corinthians 6:2, which immediately precedes this passage.[26] It would not be unusual for his mind to linger over this section. Secondly, we find evidence to support this suggestion in verse 4 and 9 and well. Especially may we note the allusions to "comfort" (7:4c,6a: Is. 49:13c), "affliction" (7:4d: Is. 49:13d), and "overjoyed" (7:4d,9: Is. 49:13a,b). Although the note of "comfort" could also be found in other passages in Isaiah,[27] the presence of all three elements in 49:13 makes it likely that this passage is in his mind, perhaps consciously.

The suggestion will be advanced below that the same passage is alluded to in other New Testament writings; if this is the case, it

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[24]Nestle, op. cit., p. 467.

[25]Ellis, op. cit., p. 153.

[26]For the arguments supporting this contention, see the discussion above concerning the citation involved.

[27]E.g., Is. 51:3,12, 54:11, also 66:13. The note concerning "comfort" in the latter two passages, as well as the usage of portions of Isaiah 49 in Revelations (which will be indicated below), provides yet another point in common between Paul and the apocalyptic tradition. Yet caution must be exercised, for the motif of "comfort" was not limited to the two.

may well be that the verse was of importance in the pre-Pauline or non-Pauline tradition.

Romans 8:33f. In this verse Paul says, "Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies; who is to condemn? . . ." Nestle[28] and Ellis[29] both consider this to be a possible allusion to Isaiah 50:8-9. No verbal similarity exists, save the word ὁ δικαιῶν(LXX:ὁ δικαιώσας με).

Yet the possibility of a non-verbal allusion exists. Michel[30] considers the New Testament passage to be a paraphrase of the Old Testament text, which conceivably may be the case. However, the suggestion falls short of being conclusive. If the allusion is accepted, it should be noted that again a passage originally dealing with the "servant" is applied not only to Paul but also to all Christians.

Philippians 2:9. Again we return to this moving and measured statement of the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus. Philippians 2:10,11 have already been discussed, and it has been recognized that these verses are clearly related to Isaiah 42:8 and 45:23, both having to do with the "lordship" of the Risen Christ. Since this verse may prove extremely important in the assessment of both the

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[28]Nestle, op. cit., p. 408.

[29]Ellis, op. cit., p. 153.

[30]Otto Michel, Der Brief An die Roemer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament, Tenth Edition, ed. by the author (Goettingen; Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), pp. 185 f.

motif of "Lord" and the motif of the "Servant of Yahweh," it would be well to have this verse before us in its entirety. Paul says,

> ". . .therefore God has highly exalted him (αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν) and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, . . ."

which name, we know from 42:8 and Philippians 2:11, is "Lord."

Both Ellis[31] and Dodd[32] see in the term ὑπερύψωσεν a reflection of Isaiah 52:13. This passage, which Dodd also sees behind Acts 3:13, 2:33, 5:31, John 12:23, 32, and elsewhere,[33] is of sufficient importance to be quoted here, both in the Hebrew, and in the LXX version.

MT	LXX
הִנֵּה יַשְׂכִּיל עַבְדִּי יָרוּם[a]	Ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου
וְנִשָּׂא וְגָבַהּ וְרָם מְאֹד:	καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται[a] σφόδρα
[a]Grk It MSS omit; 1QIs[a] וירום	[a]α′σ′θ′επαρθησεται και μετεωρισθησεται

In the last phrase, both Ellis and Dodd see reflected the exaltation to Lordship of the Risen One in Philippians 2:10ff. This allusion is only acceptable, however, on the basis of the a priori conviction that Philippians 2 reflects the Servant motif.

More particularly, Dodd makes the casual inference that behind

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[31]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

[32]Dodd, op. cit., p. 92.

[33]These passages will be discussed below.

the term ὑπερύψωσεν of Philippians 2:9 stands the term ὑψωθήσεται of Isaiah 52:13. This is a somewhat tenuous inference, however. Nowhere, as we shall see, does the Pauline term render either the Hebrew נשא or גבה. The only relation is the somewhat similar meaning, even though in this regard the Pauline word is much stronger. Why would Paul use a different word, since the LXX term was the most natural and certainly was close at hand?

These questions and comments become particularly important when the Pauline word itself is considered. The verb ὑπερυψόω is extremely rare. Only twice does it occur in the LXX. Only here does it occur in the New Testament. Only in I Clement 14:5 does it occur in the Fathers, and then in a slightly different meaning. Only in the Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum and a letter of Synesius, both post-Pauline, does the term occur in Hellenistic literature, and then only once in each work. It does not appear in the papyrii.[34] Therefore, the verb could not possibly be regarded as a Hellenistic term; the only origin for the term is the LXX. In Psalm 36:5 (LXX) the verb is used in the middle voice of one who raises himself to the highest heights; this usage, as can be clearly recognized, is not associated with the Pauline usage. Only the usage in Psalm 96:9 (LXX) remains.

In this passage we find the only parallel to Paul's usage in pre-Pauline material. Strikingly, the word occurs in a passage which would have great meaning for the community out of which the material

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[34] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 849.

in Philippians 2 arose. The verse reads in the LXX rendering, and in the MT,

ὅτι σὺ εἶ[a] κύριος ὁ[b] ὕψιστος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν,
σφόδρα ὑπερυψώθης ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς θεούς.

[a]A omits [b]A א omit

כִּי־אַתָּה יְהוָה עֶלְיוֹן עַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ מְאֹד נַעֲלֵיתָ עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים׃

The presence of the title κύριος and the content of the verse makes it wuite clear that the passage ties in with the motif of the "lordship" of Christ. Since the passages from Isaiah which stand behind the last portion of verse 9, and all of verses 10 and 11, are associated with this motif, it may be concluded that not Isaiah 52:13 but Psalm 97:9 stands behind the first portion of verse 9. This conclusion is of crucial significance for the evaluation of this section of Philippians 2.

Throughout this discussion the passage has been referred to with a great deal of freedom as Paul's. It has been suggested repeatedly that actually Paul received this material from the tradition before him. In fact, here we have a hymnic or liturgical or even confessional composition setting forth in measured phrases the great drama of Christ's humiliation and exaltation as Lord. We have now examined verses 9, 10, and 11 of this chapter, and behind these verses have found three different Scripture passages, all from separate sections of the Old Testament, but all dealing with the motif of the "lordship" of Christ. Of the three, only one is near the surface; the other two have been interpreted and worked into the

material extant. This no doubt required a great deal of interpretation and usage. The passage, whether Pauline or pre-Pauline, may therefore be considered as quite old. This insight, as well as our discussions concerning the Scripture "sub-structure" of the passage, will be of great significance at a later point in this study.

Philippians 2:7. This verse reads, "but (Jesus) emptied himself (ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν), taking the form of a servant (μορφὴν δούλον λαβών) . . ." Behind this verse, Nestle[35] sees Isaiah 53:3,11,12. It is manifest that no verbal parallel is present in these three verses; rather, the suggested allusion is to the content of these verses. Such an allusion cannot be demonstrated in general, however; an examination of specific similarities is in order.

Both Dodd[36] and Ellis[37] see in this verse an allusion specifically to 53:12. Dodd finds the allusion in the phrase, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν. First, Dodd contends that the phrase is only completed by a latter part of the passage, the phrase μέχρι θανάτου; considering ἑαυτον ἐκένωσεν. μέχρι θανάτου to be a structural unit, he finds in this unit an allusion to the Hebrew of 53:12. Dodd notes that the LXX renders the Hebrew הֶעֱרָה לַמָּוֶת נַפְשׁוֹ with παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατου ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ. Although no verbal similarity appears, Dodd argues that the Hebrew verb ערה is elsewhere rendered in the LXX with ἐκκενοῦν,

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[35]Nestle, op. cit., p. 503.

[36]Dodd, op. cit., p. 93.

[37]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

and this usage makes the allusion conclusive.

In criticism of Dodd's view, two factors should be considered. First, the linguistic argument is very devious. Only in Jeremiah 14:2 and 15:9 does κενόω appear elsewhere in the LXX, and in both instances it renders אמל (Pual). If either Paul or his source rendered the Hebrew independent of the LXX, why was not one of the Hellenistic forms of the much more common verb ἐκχέω chosen? It would seem that κενόωwas used deliberately to mean "divested" or "emptied" himself. The object would probably be the μορφή θεοῦ. Secondly, it is doubtful whether the preposition phrase μέχρι θανάτου is to be construed with ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν rather than with γενόμενος ὑπήκοος. It would seem that the latter is most likely.[38] Yet the alternative interpretation seems to be essential to Dodd's understanding of ἐκένωσεν, and to the suggested allusion to Isaiah 53:12.

These considerations provide some basis for assessing the possibility of an allusion in this passage. On the one hand, it is impossible to demonstrate that an allusion is not present; on the other, it is equally doubtful that an allusion is. Therefore, this suggestion must be considered possible but not necessarily probable; no case can be built upon it.

I Corinthians 15:3. Paul says, "For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures (ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν

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[38]So Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 517.

ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς). . ." Nestle[39] indicates a possible allusion in this passage to Isaiah 53:8 ff. Again, the allusion is not demonstrable. On the one hand, the term ἁμαρτία is certainly reminiscent of this passage of II Isaiah; on the other, the term ὑπέρ nowhere appears in this section. Does the phrase "according to the scriptures" refer to a particular text or a number of texts as a whole? The allusion, if one is present, can not be determined, for the phrase is too general.

Romans 4:25, 5:1. In these two verses Paul says, ". . .Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses (ὃς παραδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν) and raised for our justification. Therefore, since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God (εἰρήνην... πρὸς τὸν θεὸν) through our Lord Jesus Christ." In the former Greek phrase, both Nestle[40] and Ellis[41] see a possible affinity with Isaiah 53:4,5, and 12; in the latter, the affinity is with 53:5. Let us consider both of these possibilities.

A relatively strong case can be made for the first of these suggestions. Although παραδίδωμι is a fairly common Greek verb, in the LXX rendering of verse 12 in Isaiah it appears repeatedly. In 53:12c the verb appears in the phrase which has entered into a former discussion, παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, and in the last part of the verse it appears in a phrase which is extremely close

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[39]Nestle, op. cit., p. 452.

[40]Ibid., p. 400.

[41]Ellis, op. cit., p. 153.

to the Pauline expression, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη. It must be noted, however, that this last phrase is peculiar to the LXX. The MT reads, וְלַפְּשָׁעֵ֥ינוּ מְחֻלָּ֖ה.

On the other hand, several considerations speak against the allusion. First, as Michel points out,[42] Paul here seems to be repeating a traditional formulation of the significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus. Would such traditional material be based on the LXX rather than on the MT? Secondly, the divergence from the LXX should be noted. Paul uses a phrase which is not to be found in the LXX or Isaiah 53: διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν. Except for Polybius[43] and The Tebtunis Papyri[44] the term παράπτωμαis not found in Hellenistic Greek writers and inscriptions;[45] it is found not at all in classical Greek.[46] Principally, it is the linguistic property of the LXX and of the New Testament. Although used in the LXX to render the Hebrew פֶּשַׁע and other roots, it is not so used in Isaiah 53:5, where פֶּשַׁע occurs. It is conceivable that Paul or his source is using an independent rendering; yet why would a relatively rare word like παράπτωμα be chosen in preference to the LXX reading ἀνομία or the common LXX synonym ἁμαρτία, both of which were common coin in the Hellenistic world. The most likely suggestion is that

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[42] Michel, op. cit., p. 111 f.

[43] II Century B. C. [44] 118 B. C.

[45] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., pp. 627, xxxii.

[46] G. Abbott-Smith, A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, Third Edition (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1953), p. 342; Arndt and Gingrich, loc. cit.

the term is due to the influence of some source considered authoritative. Perhaps an examination of the New Testament usage of this term will be instructive. In Matthew 6:14,15 and Mark 11:25, (26), the term is used to indicate trespasses perpetrated by men, which needs must be forgiven by the one against whom they were committed, if that one is to expect forgiveness from God. This is the only usage which is not found in Pauline or post-Pauline writings; it will be seen that in these writings the meaning is more restricted. In Romans 5:12-6:11, we find the fullest treatment of the connotations and context of this term. This section deals with the "old Adam" and the "new Adam" typology. The typology would seem to run like this,[47]

"one man Adam"	transgression	all men	death
"one man Christ J."	obedience	those "in Christ"	life

As can be seen, the term "transgression" παράπτωμα[48] is associated with "Adam," condemnation and death; it is also the opposite of "obedience" as we see it in Christ. The most compact statement of the analogy is perhaps found in verse 19, "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by one man's obedience many will be made righteous" ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοί, οὕτως καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς [ἀνθρώπου]

[47] See 5:12,14,15-21, 6:4-11.

[48] The term ἁμαρτία is also used in this passage repeatedly; yet for Paul the term was associated with disobedience of the law, cf. 5:13,30.

δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί . The parallelism, the structural balance, the presence of the technical terms ἑνὸς and οἱ πολλοί[49] all indicate a traditional formulation of soteriological interpretation. In the light of the Adam typology and the traditional nature of the material, the presence of the term παράπτωμα assumes some importance. It is also noteworthy that in II Corinthians 5:19, the only other occurrence of the word in Pauline literature, the same connotations seem to be present; this is also the case with the post-Pauline occurrences.[50] It may well be, therefore, that on the basis of the usage of this New Testament term, the significance of 4:25 is to be found not with reference to the "servant motif" but with regard to the "Adam typology."[51]

How may we assess the suggestion, therefore, that in 4:25 we have an allusion to Isaiah 53? If the verbal parallels are emphasized, the allusion may be regarded as probable.[52] However, if the verbal parallels are not emphasized, the allusion is only regarded as possible.[53] The connotations of the term παράπτωμα only give credence to the

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[49]Note how this term stands apart from the rest of its clause, thus being emphasized. The significance of this usage will be discussed below.

[50]Ephesians 1:7, 2:5; Colossians 2:13a,b.

[51]Is it not significant that in the Wisdom of Solomon, 10:1, a writing which Paul seems to have known and used, that the term παράπτωμα is used specifically for Adam's sin?

[52]Michel, loc. cit.

[53]So J. H. Ropes, "The Influence of Second Isaiah on the Epistles," Journal of Biblical Literature, XLVIII (1929), ed. by George Dahl, B. W. Bacon, F. C. Porter (New Haven, Connecticut: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1929), p. 38.

latter view. It seems best, therefore, to take the latter alternative.

There yet remains the possibility of an allusion in the term εἰρήνη. It will suffice to say that no conclusion can be based upon the one word, especially since the word is prominent elsewhere in II Isaiah and in the Old Testament. To be sure, the term εἰρήνη had profound meaning for the church, and we will have opportunity to explore that meaning; however, an allusion to II Isaiah in this instance is not demonstrable.

Romans 8:3. In this verse, Paul says, "For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin (καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας), he condemned sin in the flesh." In the margin, the RSV gives the variant translation, ". . .in the likeness of sinful flesh and as a sin offering, he condemned sin in the flesh."

C. H. Dodd suggests that the phrase is to be taken as the technical LXX phrase which renders חטאת. There is nothing which prohibits this rendering of the phrase in this verse.[54] If the phrase is so interpreted, then it is most probably an allusion to Isaiah 53:10.[55]

On the other hand, nothing necessitates this translation of the phrase. Ellis, who indicates the possibility of an allusion in this verse, nevertheless places a question mark beside his

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[54]Minuscule 110 and a few other Mss. omit this phrase. This omission is apparently due to homoioteleuton.

[55]So Dodd, op. cit., p. 93.

listing.[56] If the phrase is not taken as a technical term, then what meaning is to be found in it? C. F. D. Moule, although taking no position on the question, indicates that, if the general meaning of the preposition was intended, the phrase should be translated "to deal with sin."[57]

There is some question as to what Paul could have meant by "sin offering," if this translation be accepted. On the other hand, abundant evidence is available that Paul considered sin to have a strangle hold on man,[58] and that in the death of Christ and his subsequent resurrection that hold was broken forever. It has been suggested in the preceding discussion that the motif of "universal sin" was involved in the "Adam typology"; and that through the "one man Christ Jesus" that sin was overcome. In considering this aspect, several statements made by Paul should be considered. First, "the wages of sin is death,"[59] and since all have sinned,[60] all must die.[61]

> Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned . . .[62]

Secondly, becoming man, Jesus "became subject unto death" but was

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[56]Ellis, op. cit., p. 153.

[57]C. F. D. Moule, An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1953), p. 63.

[58]For a brief summary, see Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., pp. 42-43, under "ἁμαρτία." Significantly, Paul gives one of his most vigorous statements of this awareness in the immediate context of our passage.

[59]6:23

[60]3:23

[61]I Cor. 15:22

[62]5:12

"highly exalted."[63] Having died, once and for all, and yet is alive, the control of sin over the life of man is broken.[64] Thus those who are "buried with him by baptism into death," with him "walk in newness of life."[65] To be sure, sin still is at work,[66] but its dominion is ended through Christ.[67] Thus, the passage could properly be translated, "For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and, to deal with sin, he condemned sin in the flesh."

Although this understanding is more difficult, it also seems to be more Pauline. Neither alternative has conclusive proof. For our purposes, the allusion will not be considered probable.

Romans 8:34. Paul says, "Who is to condemn? It is Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us (καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν)." All except the last phrase seems to be derived from other Biblical motifs; yet in the last phrase, C. H. Dodd[68] sees an allusion to the Hebrew of Isaiah 53:10, וְלַפֹּשְׁעִים יַפְגִּיעַ "he . . . made intercession for the transgressors." This perhaps is one of the most probable allusions that Dodd indicates. Not only does the same term appear in Hebrews 7:25, but a kindred concept is expressed explicitly in I John 2:1. If the allusion is present, it would of

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[63] Philippians 2:8,9

[64] Rom. 6:7,9,10

[65] 6:4

[66] 7:13-25

[67] 6:14. These citations, of course, are only selections.

[68] Dodd, op. cit., p. 94.

necessity be due to the Hebrew, and thus very early in date. In this verse, the LXX diverges widely from the Hebrew text.

Dodd's suggestion is not universally accepted, however. An eminent scholar such as Otto Michel does not here follow Dodd. Michel,[69] on the basis both of style and thought, suggests that Paul's questions and answers reflects traditions almost confessional in nature, in which the Exaltation of Christ and His intercession for His followers were closely bound together. Michel sees the note of intercession as being a development of the exaltation of the Risen Lord to the right hand of God the Father. He makes no suggestion as to any Scriptural authority for this note of intercession. The verse in Hebrews concerning intercession is, in his opinion, an outgrowth of the author's conviction concerning the continuing presence of Christ the High Priest in the presence of the Father.

Only in Romans 8:34, Hebrews 7:25, and I John 2:1, do we find the motif of the Exalted Christ interceding on behalf of his own; even in these instances the terminology does not seem to be established: in Paul and Hebrews the verb ἐντυγχάνω is used, in I John the noun employed is derived from παρακαλέω. Two alternative explanations are possible. If the influence from the Hebrew is present and was early, no equivalent for the Hebrew פָּגַע was available in the Greek of the LXX and the N. T. Conversely, if the note of intercession developed late and independent of the Hebrew, as Michel suggests, then the lack of a Greek equivalent could be

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[69] Michel, op. cit., p. 186 f.

attributed to the lateness of the conception and linguistic deficiency. With regard to the first, no Greek term for "intercession" seems to be widely used, not even in the LXX, perhaps because the concept itself was not compatible with the Old Testament and with Hellenistic religions. The closest equivalent is the term ἀνθίστημι, which is employed by Symmachus in his rendering of the Hebrew; the Greek verb seems to be fairly appropriate, but curiously it was not used by the New Testament writers. In addition, ample evidence is present that the early Christians were fully capable of creating their own distinctive vocabulary, if necessary. Yet the influence of the Hebrew of Isaiah 53:10 remains a distinct possibility in the pre-Greek period. Michel's suggestion avoids the language difficulty and is reasonable in itself. The impression that Jesus in his earthly ministry prayed for others, including his own, could easily be projected and accepted with regard to his exalted position. Yet even some instances of his earthly intercession[70] may reflect the conviction of his heavenly intercession. Indeed, if already accepted, the author of Hebrews almost casual reference to Christ's intercession could serve to support the motif of Christ's High Priesthood, rather than vice-versus.

It would seem, therefore, that the note of intercession on the part of Christ in behalf of his disciples was early, and, as Michel suggests, was bound up with the exaltation of the Lord. It may not have grown out of the motif of Exaltation, however; it could have

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[70] E.g., John 14:16.

been due to the early influence of the Hebrew text of Isaiah 53:10. If the latter is the case, it must be noted that the verse in II Isaiah was subordinated very quickly to the motif of Lordship, and no indication is present that the motif of the Servant of the Lord was dominant. The allusion may be regarded as possibly, though not necessarily, present.

I Thessalonians 5:8. The verse reads, "But, since we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love (ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης) and for a helmet the hope of salvation (περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας)." In these participial phrases, Ellis[71] sees an allusion to Isaiah 59:17. This suggestion is probably correct. Two questions should be raised: is the usage the work of Paul? Is the metaphor directly dependent on Isaiah 59:17?

Both of these questions seem to require a negative answer. As to the origin of this usage, an examination of Ephesians 6: 14-17 is necessary. In this passage, the same verse in Isaiah is alluded to, although in much closer form than Paul's words here. For the first phrase, the LXX reads ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα, Ephesians reads ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης and Paul ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης. The New Testament writers render the Aorist Middle verb of the LXX with Present Middle Participle. For the second phrase, the LXX renders περικεφαλαίαν σωτηρίου, Ephesians τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου,

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[71]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

Paul περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας.

It would seem that the common traits in both New Testament documents indicate either that Ephesians is dependent on Paul or both are using a common tradition or source. The first alternative is not improbable, except that in Ephesians the phrases being considered are found in a unit which also includes these phrases: "having girded your loins with truth," "having shod your feet with the equipment of the gospel of peace," "the sword of the spirit," and "the word of God," all of which are either taken from various Old Testament scriptures or represent stock Christian expressions. Therefore, behind Ephesians we may discern a traditional source, in which the image of the "armor" of a Christian was developed and expounded. The metaphor itself was made up of citations from various Old Testament sources, among them the latter chapters of Isaiah. We may therefore assume that behind Paul's words also stands this tradition.

Paul's modifications should be noted. "Righteousness" is omitted in favor of "faith and love," and "salvation" becomes the "hope of salvation."[72] Although working with an accepted metaphor, he did not hesitate to make interpretative alterations.

It has been indicated above that Isaiah 59:20-21 was of importance within certain circles in the early church. It is therefore no surprise that verse 17 is reflected in this metaphor.

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[72]Note the same triad, "faith," "hope," and "love," which appears in I Corinthians 13, and elsewhere.

Indeed, Paul himself may have had in mind the verses which follow, when he speaks of those in Christ being destined not "for wrath"[73] but to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ.[74] These reminiscences of the following verses does not mean that Paul is consciously alluding to them; these themes may well have been bound up with the tradition which lies behind the metaphor of "the whole armor of God."[75]

We may conclude that in this passage is to be found an allusion, although indirect, to Isaiah 59:17.

II Corinthians 11:2. C. H. Dodd sees in this verse an allusion to Isaiah 61:10, in the LXX, "as a bride he adorned me with jewels (..ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέ με κόσμῳ)."[76] Paul says, "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to Christ to present you as a pure bride to her one husband." At no point does the Greek of the Pauline statement coincide with that of Isaiah 61:10. There is some similarity to the content of the LXX verse, but only on the basis of hermeneutic assumptions which do not appear in the context.

There seems little possibility that this is an authentic

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[73] Cf. Isaiah 59:18: "According to their deeds, so will he repay, wrath to his adversaries, requital to his enemies; to the coastlands he will render requital."

[74] See Isaiah 59:20 and the discussion of this passage as quoted in Romans 11:26-27.

[75] Ephesians 6:13

[76] MT: "as a bride adorns herself with her jewels."

allusion to Isaiah 61:10;[77] rather it seems to be an expression of interpretative motifs which had already been developed within certain Christian communities and which Paul accepted. These motifs were in part based on the passage in Isaiah, but the verse in II Corinthians seems so far removed from Isaiah, which it only is related to indirectly, that it can scarcely be regarded as an allusion. The basis for Paul's statement will be explored further below in the discussion concerning Revelation 21:2.

I Corinthians 2:9. This passage presents a curious problem for the interpreter of the New Testament, especially with regard to the significance of Citation Formulae. In this passage, Paul quotes with the introductory formula καθὼς γέγραπται a passage which only resembles snatches of several scriptures and which is a citation of none in particular. The source therefore is unknown. Paul says, beginning with verse 7,

> But we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed before the ages for our glorification. None of the rulers of this age understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But, as it is written,
>
> 'What no eye has seen (ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδέν),
> nor ear heard (καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν),
> nor the heart of man conceived,
> what God has prepared for those who love him,...
> (ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν)

Nestle suggests, with some hesitation,[78] that this is a citation from the "Apocalypse of Elijah," but unfortunately there is no way

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[77]Ellis places a question mark by his listing, in his work, op. cit., p. 153.

[78]Nestle, op. cit., p. 429.

to verify this. The citation itself is made up of portions selected from several scriptures, each altered and fused with the others to form this affirmation of hope. The first line bears some resemblance to Isaiah 64:3, which reads, in the LXX, "From of old neither have we heard nor have our eyes seen a God except thee . . . (ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν πλὴν σοῦ).[79] If this passage is alluded to the first phrase is taken from the last verbal phrase and the second phrase is adapted from the first verbal phrase in the LXX. The third phrase, "nor the heart of man conceived," displays the same Greek idiom which we find in Jeremiah 3:16, and somewhat more faintly in Isaiah 65:17. The fourth phrase, "what God has prepared for those who love him," bears no resemblance to any passage in the Old Testament or even the Apocrypha. All of these phrases bear the same marks of interpretative alteration: the transposition of phrases, changes of tense, insertions of particles, and fusion with passages from other contexts.

It may be granted without further ado that the first and second phrases are related, directly or indirectly, to Isaiah. Even with the citation formula, it would be hard to accept the suggestion that Paul is intentionally quoting Isaiah or any other Old Testament scripture. From what source did he derive this passage? It seems likely that the passage itself existed as a unit

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[79]MT: "From of old no one has heard
or perceived by the ear,
no eye has seen a God besides thee, . . ."

before Paul wrote this letter to the Corinthians; it bears all the marks of material which has passed through a long process of interpretation and alteration. What, then, was the matrix out of which this unit arose?

Again it would seem that the source was a group in which eschatological interests were dominant; several general considerations make this likely. It has already been suggested in several instances that Paul has implemented for his particular purpose material which was cultivated in an eschatological circle.[80] In one citation, similar in thought to the first and second phrases of this passage, Paul based his mission to the Gentiles on an eschatological injunction.[81] Eschatological motifs held in common with other documents have been adduced.[82] Material, certainly eschatological in interest and perhaps non-Pauline in origin, has been found in one of his letters.[83] With regard to this passage, particular indications are present. The third phrase, which seems to bear some relation to Jeremiah 3:16, is taken from a passage in Jeremiah which is definitely eschatological in tone, and which, furthermore, is concerned with the new Zion. Jeremiah 3:17 reads, according to the LXX,

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[80] II Corinthians 6:2; Romans 11:25, e.g. See above.

[81] Romans 15:21. See above.

[82] E.g., see discussion of Galatians 4:27 above.

[83] II Corinthians 6:17. See discussion above.

> In those days and at that time they shall call Jerusalem 'The Throne of the Lord,' and into her shall be gathered all the nations (or Gentiles), and they shall no more follow their own evil hearts.[84]

This verse could easily apply to the end-time, "in those days," and could be interpreted to speak of the "new Jerusalem, the Throne of the Lord," and of the gathering of the Gentiles and the cleansing and renewal of the faithful. This possibility is fortified by another observation. The last phrase in this passage, "what God has prepared for those who love Him," finds a close parallel in James 1:12 and 2:5; in both of these passages is the phrase "to those who love him (τοίς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν)." In the second case, these are said to have been promised "the kingdom." The first case is even more interesting. James says,

> Blessed is the man who endures trial, for when he has stood the test he will receive the crown of life which God has promised to those who love him.

The term "crown (στέφανος)," here associated with the phrase "those who love him," is consistently associated with the end-time.[85] Considering these factors, it seems likely that this phrase, and the material which contains it, was derived from

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[84]MT: "At that time Jerusalem shall be called the throne of the Lord, and all nations shall gather to it, to the presence of the Lord in Jerusalem, and they shall no more stubbornly follow their own evil hearts."

[85]In II Timothy 4:8, I Peter 5:4, Revelation 2:10 and 3:11, this eschatological association is explicit; in James 1:12 it is implicit; in I Corinthians 9:25, Philemon 4:1, and I Thessalonian 2:19, its meaning is an extended one, and in the last case explicitly eschatological; in Revelation 4:4,10, 6:2, and 12:1, it is used of various figures involved in the events of the end-time; only in Matthew 27:29, Mark 15:17, and John 19:2,5, does the connotation seem to be non-eschatological.

eschatological, even apocalyptic, circles.[86]

In summary, in this passage we have a definite allusion to Isaiah 64:4. The allusion is not direct with Paul; rather it is indirect, being received by him in material which had been extensively interpreted, probably in circles in which the eschatological interest was dominant.

II Corinthians 5:17. This verse has already been discussed above, with regard to Isaiah 43:18. Although Paul certainly was acquainted with Isaiah, Chapter 65, it is unlikely that the above verse constitutes an allusion to Isaiah 65:17.[87] In that passage in Isaiah, God speaks of the creation of a "new heaven" and a "new earth," a motif which was picked up by the apocalyptic circles behind the Apocalypse of John. It is most likely that II Corinthians 5:17 is an allusion to Isaiah 43:18 rather than 65:17, as indicated above.

II Corinthians 9:10. In this passage, we find a significant allusion to Isaiah 55:10. Paul is speaking to the Corinthians concerning the offering for the saints at Jerusalem, and in the course of this appeal, he says, "He who supplies seed to the sower and bread for food (σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν) will supply and multiply your resources and increase the harvest of your

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[86]Logically, the opposite of "to those who love him" is "to those who hate him," and it is not impossible that their recompense was considered in the source from which this material was derived.

[87]As Nestle suggests, op. cit., p. 465.

righteousness." The phrase indicated with the Greek is a definite allusion to Isaiah 55:10, "For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven, and return not thither but water the earth, making it bring forth and sprout, giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater (LXX: σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν), . . ."

To what extent, if any, is the context of Isaiah 55:10 involved in Paul's thought? Isaiah 55, significantly, is the climactic chapter of II Isaiah, bringing together most of the major motifs of his work. Verse 10 and 11 in this chapter are inter-related; verse 10 presenting the analogy which gives added stress to the statement of verse 11. As the snow and rain come down and does not return, until it accomplishes that for which it was sent, "so shall my word (ῥῆμά μου) be that goes forth from my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and prosper in the thing for which I sent it." This word comes from the presence of the incomparable but merciful Lord (55:7-9), who calls for obedience, and who promises spiritual prosperity (55:1-5,12,13), by using the images of physical abundance and well-being.

Elements are present in the Pauline discussion which could be taken as reflections of these different factors. It has been suggested above that the term ῥῆμα in the early tradition became a part of the religious vocabulary, used in association with "gospel" to refer to the proclamation of the Lord Jesus. If Paul was consciously aware of the context of this phrase from 55:10, the motif of "word" would necessarily be present. This motif finds several

possible reflections in the Corinthian context. Paul alludes to the proclamation of the "lordship" of Christ in 8:9, ". . .for you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich"; here, certainly, Paul speaks of something other than material wealth. Paul in 9:13 views the giving of the Corinthians as being integrally related to obedience to the gospel of Christ: "Under the test of this service, you (or: they) will glorify God by your obedience in acknowledging the gospel of Christ, and by the generosity of your contribution for them and for all others; . . ."

Secondly, it has been noted that in Isaiah 55 material wealth is used, possibly as an image, to indicate spiritual prosperity. Does this image lie behind Paul's argument? Is Paul extending the meaning of the image to indicate not only spiritual prosperity but material abundance, as a result of obedience? Is it significant that the conviction lying behind verse 6, that the harvest is consequent to the sowing, is in Galatians 6:7 used in reference to spiritual sowing and reaping, whereas here it is used of material sowing and reaping? Throughout this passage, both material abundance and spiritual prosperity or righteousness are presented together, as the result of obedience to the gospel of Christ. In verse 8, 10, and 11 are found these pronouncements, ". .God is able to provide you with every blessing in abundance, so that you may always have enough of everything and may provide in abundance for every good work . . .He . . .will supply and multiply your resources and increase the harvest of your righteousness. You will be enriched in every way for great

generosity, which through us will produce thanksgiving to God; . . ."

It is not impossible, therefore, that behind this passage lies a developed interpretation of Isaiah 55, as the casual nature of this allusion, the motif of "word," the citation of 55:3 in Acts 13:34 and Hebrews 13:20 would suggest. Yet this decision is not final.

The context of the quotation from the Psalter which is present here should be examined. This is especially significant if, in addition to Psalm 112, Psalm 111 be taken into consideration. For Paul, not having chapter divisions in his Mss., might well take them together, since both are acrostic, and are similar, both in style and thought. The similarities between these Psalms, Isaiah 55, and this portion in II Corinthians are striking. The following elements are held in common: "giving thanks (Ps. 111:1; II Cor. 9:11,12)," the Lord "provides food (Ps. 111:5; II Cor. 9:8,10,11; cf. Ps. 112:3,5, Is. 55:1,2,10)," is mindful of the "covenant (Ps. 111:5b, Is. 55:3,4)," has displayed the "power of his works (Ps. 111:6a; Is. 55:11-13)," in the "heritage of the nations (Ps. 111:6b; Is. 55:5)," shows "mercy (Ps. 111:9, 112:2)," and increases "righteousness (Ps. 112:3b,6,9; II Cor. 9:8,10)." Whether Psalm 111 be considered or not, it would seem that both Psalm 112 and Isaiah 55, especially verse 10-11, stand behind this passage. Verse 10 is alluded to, and in verse 11d in the LXX we find this significant reading, "[my word]. . .will make prosperous thy ways and my precepts (εὐοδώσω τὰς ὁδούς σου καὶ τὰ ἐντάλματά μου)." Thus, it may be regarded as probable that behind this casual allusion stands a developed usage of Isaiah 55, especially with

reference to the motif of the "word" and the spiritual benefits of obedience.

Philippians 2:16. Both Nestle[88] and Ellis[89] suggest that in this verse there is an allusion not only to Isaiah 49:4 but possibly also to the LXX of Isaiah 65:23. The possibility has been explored above, at which time the allusion to 49:4 was considered most probable. The allusion to Isaiah 65:23, if present, is only secondary.

Post-Pauline Letters

In this section, the possible allusions to be found in II Thessalonians, Ephesians, and Colossians will be considered. These letters are here regarded as being derived from the work and letters of Paul but not necessarily written by him. They have a relationship to Paul similar to that of the Johannine Epistles to the Gospel of John. As such, with caution, they will be of assistance in the further interpretation of the Pauline usage of II and III Isaiah, and in addition will shed light on the traditional usage of the early church in which Paul shared. The allusions will be considered in each letter in the order given above.

Ephesians 6:14,15,17. In this passage, several allusions have been discerned by Nestle.[90] In our discussion of I Thessalonians 5:8 above, it was concluded that behind this unit and the usage in I Thessalonians there lies a common source or tradition. This

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[88] Ibid., p. 504.

[89] Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

[90] Nestle, op. cit., p. 500.

traditional source was concerned with the metaphor of the "whole armor of God."[91] Paul, in his usage selected only a portion of the metaphor for his purpose, and, in addition, altered it slightly. As has been indicated, the phrase in verse 14, "having put on the breastplate of righteousness," and the phrase in verse 17, "the helmet of salvation," are based on Isaiah 59:17. No further discussion is required on these phrases.

Two other phrases require discussion. In Ephesians 6:14, the phrase is found, "having girded your loins with truth (περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ)." There is no possibility here of an allusion to II Isaiah, yet the source of this phrase will be significant. This phrase seems to be a rather free and selective implementation of Isaiah 11:5, καὶ ἔσται δικαιοσύνη ἐζωσμένος τὴν ὀσφὺν καὶ ἀληθείᾳ εἰλημένος τάς πλευράς. To be sure, the phrase is taken out of context both with respect to thought and syntax, and has been altered, probably due to a common Greek idiomatic usage.[92] Yet this is the only likely source for this phrase.

The second phrase is more relevant. In the latter portion of verse 17, the phrase occurs, "the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God (τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστιν ῥῆμα θεοῦ)." With respect to the "word of God," an extended discussion has already been carried out above.[93] The complete figure, as it appears in brief in

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[91] Ephesians 6:13

[92] Cf. Luke 12:35.

[93] In the discussion of I Peter 1:24 (Isaiah 40:6-9) especially.

Ephesians, appears in its developed form in Hebrews 4:12.[94] In this passage, the "word of God (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ)" is "sharper than any two-edged sword (τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον)." It would seem, on the basis of these scriptural occurrences, that the figure of the "word of God" as a "sword" was widely held in primitive Christianity. Upon what scriptures, if any, was this metaphor based?

Several suggestions have been made. Nestle[95] suggests Isaiah 49:2 and 11:4; Ellis[96] concurs in the former passage. The second passage may be of importance, although the figure of the "sword" does not appear in the verse.[97] The first passage, Isaiah 49:2, seems to be the most likely. This section of Isaiah, which was so thoroughly implemented by the early church, relates these words spoken by the servant, "He [the Lord] made my mouth like a sharp sword (ὡσεὶ μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν)." This, probably, is the basis for the figure before us. Again it should be noted that the passage was taken out of context, and implemented and interpreted according to

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[94]"For the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the division of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart. (vs. 13) And before him no creature is hidden, but all are open and laid bare to the eyes of him with whom we have to do." Cf. Jeremiah 23:29.

[95]Nestle, op. cit., p. 500.

[96]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

[97]The verse reads, ". . .and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked." The relevance of this verse to the development of the metaphor is made credible by the usage of verse 5, as indicated above.

a priori convictions.

In Ephesians 6:15 yet another phrase must receive our attention. The verse reads, as a part of the description of the armor of God, ". . .and having shod your feet with the equipment of the gospel of peace; (καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἑτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης)." This phrase is very similar to Isaiah 52:7, a passage which is cited by Paul in Romans 10:15. In the discussion of that passage, it was maintained that Paul was there utilizing scripture which had long provided the basis for the missionary preaching. In that passage, there is no reference to "peace," yet as shall be demonstrated, it is more than likely that "peace" was involved in the preaching carried on by Paul and the early Christians. The motif of "peace" will be discussed shortly; here it is sufficient to note that the citation which was quoted by Paul seems to be making another appearance in a slightly different garb in the passage before us. The allusion is therefore to Isaiah 52:7.

The metaphor of the "whole armor of God" has now almost been completely covered. Only the phrase, "the shield of faith," for which there seems to be no Old Testament basis, has not been discussed. It is now quite clear that the metaphor itself is the product of the interpretative, and probably didactic, work of the early church. By selection and interpretation, usually without regard to context, a striking metaphor has been built up and elaborated. By way of comment, it is curious to note that in the Old Testament, each of the scriptural passages which underlie the metaphor of the "whole

armor of God" applies specifically to the Lord (Yahweh).[98] In the metaphor, of course, they are applied to the individual Christians.

Ephesians 5:25-27. Dodd[99] and Ellis, with reluctance,[100] see in this verse a possible allusion to Isaiah 61:10, "like a bride he adorned me with jewels," suggesting that this verse is the basis for the figure of the church as the bride of Christ. In the discussion of I Corinthians 11:2, where the same suggestion was made, it was concluded for various reasons that the figure was an expression of an early Christian motif, only indirectly related and far removed from Isaiah 61:10. The same conclusions hold true for this usage.

Ephesians 2:13-17. In this passage, there is present a definite and probably conscious allusion to Isaiah 57:19, which reads, "Peace, peace, to the far and to the near, says the Lord; and I will heal him (LXX: εἰρήνην ἐπ' εἰρήνην τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγὺς οὖσι καὶ εἶπε κύριος ἰάσομαι αὐτούς; לָרָחוֹק וְלַקָּרוֹב אָמַר יְהוָה וּרְפָאתִיו שָׁלוֹם שָׁלוֹם MT)." For comparison's sake, and because the context of this allusion is of importance, the full passage in Ephesians is

> Therefore remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh, called the uncircumcision by what is called the circumcision, which is made in the flesh by hands--remember that you were at that time separated from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world. But now in Christ Jesus

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[98] Note that the relevant passages in Hebrews and Revelations preserve the original application of these images.

[99] Dodd, op. cit., p. 94.

[100] Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

> you who once were far off (μακρὰν) have been
> brought near (ἐγγὺς) in the blood of Christ. For
> he is our peace (ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν), who has made us both one,
> and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility,
> by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and
> ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man
> in place of the two, so making peace (ποιῶν εἰρήνην),
> and might reconcile us both to God in one body through
> the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end.
> And he came and preached peace to you who were far off
> and peace to those who were near (καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην
> ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐγγύς); for through
> him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father. So then
> you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are
> fellow citizens with the saints and members of the
> household of God, . . .[101]

In the phrases represented by the Greek, a definite allusion to Isaiah 57:19 may be seen.

Even more importantly, the context itself reflects the early Christian motif of "peace (εἰρήνη)." This term represents in the LXX and in Christian tradition, in most of its occurrences, the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם. Space does not permit a full discussion even of this Hebrew term; the reader is referred to the excellent treatment by Johannes Pedersen, in his Israel: Its Life and Culture.[102] Pedersen discerns two stages in the development of the concept "peace": the first conditioned by the covenant, in which the term signified mutual trust and full harmony within oneself, within the community,

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[101] Ephesians 2:11-19

[102] In I-II, pp. 263-310 he discusses "Peace and Covenant;" pp. 311-335 the topic "Peace and Salvation." These constitute the definitive discussion of these motifs in the Old Testament. Other brief comments on "peace" appear elsewhere, and may be located by the use of the Hebrew word index. The brief comments above are drawn from this discussion and are based upon it. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1926).

and between Yahweh and his community; the second conditioned by national hopes and welfare, in which the term signified security from enemies, safety from danger, disease, and other threats to one's self. The first was characterized by an inclusiveness, able to absorb all who would enter into the covenant relationship; the second was characterized by an exclusiveness, based on the national supremacy of Israel. The transition between the phrases were gradual, but the extremes in the end were sharply defined. The term שָׁלוֹם in itself was used to designate someone or something which was "free" or "intact," "whole"; at the same time, "the entirety, the fact of being whole, and he who is whole."[103]

Bultmann rightly regards the Greek εἰρήνη as the equivalent of the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם, as the term is used in the New Testament.[104] The term denotes not only the absence of strife, though this at times is included in it, but it also connotes the sense of "wholeness," "well-being," or "completeness," with regard to the inner state of a man himself, to the relations between man and man, or to the relationship between man and God. Such is the meaning present in the Synoptic narratives, [105] in the birth narratives of Luke,[106] in

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[103]Pedersen, ibid., p. 311.

[104]Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. by Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), II, p. 83.

[105]Luke 11:21, 14:32, 19:38,42. Cf. the words of salutation, i.e., Mark 10:12,13 // Luke 10:5,6, and the words of benediction, e.g., Mark 5:34, Luke 7:50, 8:48.

[106]Luke 1:79, 2:14, 2:29.

the Johannine discourses in the Upper Room,[107] in the narratives of the Acts,[108] including a statement of the κήρυγμα,[109] in the Pauline greetings[110] and discussions,[111] in the post-Pauline, Pastoral, and Catholic epistles,[112] and even in the Revelation of John of Patmos.[113] Rarely does the term clearly convey the negative and passive connotation of the mere absence of strife and conflict;[114] in most instances it is clearly a technical term in the Christian religious vocabulary.

Both Bultmann[115] and Michel[116] regard the term as eschatological in tone, and rightly so; however, it should also be observed that, in their opinion, it is identical with "salvation" (Heil). Pedersen delineates between the two in his discussion of the Old Testament

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[107] John 14:27, 16:33; cf. 20:19,21,26.

[108] Acts 7:26, 9:31.

[109] Acts 10:36

[110] I Cor. 1:3; II Cor. 1:2; Gal. 1:3; Philippians 1:2; I Thess. 1:1; II Thess. 1:2; Philemon 3; cf. Eph. 1:2; Col. 1:2; Tit. 1:4; Rev. 1:4.

[111] Romans 2:10, 5:1, 8:6, 14:17,19, 15:13,33; 16:20; I Cor. 7:15, 14:33; II Cor. 13:11; Gal. 5:22, 6:16; Philippians 4:7,9; I Thess. 5:3,23.

[112] Eph. 4:3, 6:15,23; Col. 3:15; II Thess. 3:16; I Tim. 1:2; II Tim. 1:2, 2:22; Heb. 11:31, 12:14, 13:20; Jas. 3:18; I Peter 1:2, 3:11; II Peter 1:2, 3:14; Jude 2.

[113] Rev. 1:4

[114] Matt. 10:34; Luke 12:51; Acts 12:20, 24:2; Rev. 6:4

[115] Bultmann, op. cit., I (1951), pp. 291, 339; II, 83.

[116] Michel, op. cit., p. 86.

contexts: "to save" consists in letting one's blessing act in another and thus to give him shalom. And it can be done by counsel, by encouragement, by a direct transference of strength, or by intervening for the benefit of one's neighbour."[117] "Salvation," maintaining this distinction, would be the noun corresponding to the "act of saving"; yet, by extension, it is at times used to indicate the consequence of this act, and in this usage, it approaches the meaning of "peace." If the distinction is maintained, then "salvation" would be the condition of one who has been saved, with reference to former guilt; "peace" would be the relationship of one who has been saved with respect to others or to God, and to the sense of completeness and wholeness within himself. Therefore, strictly speaking, "peace" could be the equivalent of "heil" the adjective, but not "Heil" the noun. It must be confessed that often this distinction does not hold.

As further evidence of the technical sense of εἰρήνη, several Scriptural phrases containing this term may be noted. The term appears in Isaiah 59:7,8, cited in Romans 3:15-17, which is discussed above, in the phrase ὁδὸς εἰρήνης; this phrase is reflected in Luke 1:79. Psalm 34:14, quoted with several other verses from the same Psalm in I Peter 3:11, includes the phrase "seek peace and pursue it"; the same phrase is clearly reflected in Hebrews 12:14, Romans 14:19, and II Timothy 2:22. The phrase εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην in the passage in Ephesians before us finds

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[117] Pedersen, op. cit., p. 331.

its counterpart in the phrase from Isaiah 52:7 found in Acts 10:36, which most probably was found also in the usage lying behind Paul's citation in Romans 10:15. The usage and frequency of this term demonstrates without a doubt the significance and connotations of this term in the early tradition.

It is interesting to note, first, how in the New Testament different aspects of both phases of the development of the motif of "peace" are combined. The first, characterized by the "covenant," finds its embodiment in the "new covenant" of the Christian faith. The inclusiveness of the covenant is reflected in this passage in Ephesians, as well as associated aspects: "strangers to the covenants of promise," and the reconciliation of the "circumcised" and the "uncircumcised." Likewise both have been reconciled to God. The second phase was characterized by a sense not of covenant fellowship, but national cohesion. This finds its embodiment in the supremacy of God, the Lordship of Christ, and the formation of the new Israel. The second aspect is reflected in the phrases, "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel," "fellow citizen with the saints," "members of the household of God." Both the new covenant and the new Israel were established by Christ, who "preached good news of peace." Thus, in a real sense, the whole passage quoted from Ephesians is concerned with "peace" and its various aspects.

It was stated in the beginning that this passage definitely alludes to Isaiah 57:19. This passage serves as a concise statement of the much larger concept of εἰρήνη. The meaning

of the phrase is derived, not only from passages in II and III Isaiah but from passages in other OT documents as well. However, it is worthwhile to note the appropriateness of the passage. Included in the verse in Isaiah are the words, "says the Lord, and I will heal them," which are not quoted in Ephesians. There is little doubt but that here again "Lord" is used not of God, but of the Risen Lord. The phrase, "and I will heal them," is but another way of saying "peace."

II Thessalonians 1:8. In this verse, the presence of two allusions to Isaiah 66 have been suggested. Nestle[118] suggests that in the phrase τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν specifically in the verb, an allusion is to be found to a portion of 66:4, which reads in the LXX, ὅτι ἐκάλεσα αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσάν μου. There seems to be little evidence either to prove or to disprove this allusion. On the one hand, the verb stem is identical, and the same verb is used with reference to "heeding the gospel" in Romans 10:16. Also, the phrase is found in a section of Isaiah which is congenial to the apocalyptic viewpoint. On the other hand, the term is extremely common in the papyri, and it did not have a distinctively Christian meaning.[119] Although it is possibly an allusion, a coincidence in terminology is more likely.

The second suggested allusion is much more certain. Both

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[118]Nestle, op. cit., p. 524.

[119]Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 845.

Nestle[120] and Ellis[121] suggest that in the clause "when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire inflicting vengeance (ἐν πυρὶ φλόγος διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν . .)"[122] is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 66:15. This verse reads, "For behold, the Lord shall come in fire (LXX:ὡς πῦρ) and his chariots like the stormwind, to render his anger (LXX: ἀποδοῦναι ... ἐκδίκησαν) in fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire (LXX:ἐν φλογὶ πυρός)." In these Greek phrases the allusion is clear. It is supported not only by the identity and similarity of terms but of thought and viewpoint.

In Revelations 1:14, 2:18, and 19:12, a phrase similar to ἐν φλογὶ πυρός is found, but not identical with it:ὡς φλὸξ πυρός.[123] To some extent the usage in Revelations seems to be based upon passages in Daniel, concerning the Son of Man;[124] yet it may well be that the usage in the Apocalypse also reflects the currency of the usage of Isaiah 66:15. It must be admitted that the image of "fire" in connection with the eschaton is exceedingly common in

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[120]Nestle, loc. cit.

[121]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

[122]MSS. B, D, G, and others, the Latin and Syriac versions, and the Latin Iranaeus present a variant which is identical with the LXX reading. Since the one given above is difficult to account for, it is to be preferred. The variant, nevertheless, may be taken to indicate that this phrase was regarded by the copists of these Mss. as an allusion to 66:15.

[123]Note that even in Rev. 2:18 the phrase is not uniform, a fact which indicates some fluidity in terminology.

[124]E.g., Daniel 10:6

Jewish and Christian literature, canonical and non-canonical;[125] yet the similarity and identity of phrasing and language between this N. T. passage and Isaiah 66:15 seems conclusive. The contention is supported, of course, by the presence of the title κύριος in the LXX, which to the early Christian would mean not Yahweh but the Risen Lord.

It may be concluded, therefore, that Isaiah 66:15, and probably also verse 16, was extremely meaningful within apocalyptic circles, and was widely utilized.

II Thessalonians 1:12. Verses 11 and 12 read, "To this end we always pray for you, that our God may make you worthy of his call, and may fulfil every good resolve and work of faith by his power, so that the name of our Lord Jesus may be glorified in you (ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν), and you in him, according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ." In the Greek phrase, Nestle[126] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 66:5.

This is especially a possibility in the Greek version. The MT is rendered as follows, "Hear the word of the Lord, you who tremble at his word: 'Your brethren who hate you and cast you out for my name's sake have said, 'Let the Lord be glorified, that we may see your joy'; but it is they who shall be put to shame.'"

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[125]For a good, brief survey, see Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 737 f.

[126]Nestle, op. cit., p. 524.

Here the phrase "name's sake" is related to "cast out," and the main verb is pointed 3rd Person Plural Perfect, "have said." The LXX, on the other hand, gives a different construction; this version reads,

> Hear the word of the Lord, you who tremble at his word,
> Say (εἴπατε),
> "Our brothers (ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν), who hate and detest us,
> in order that the name of the Lord might be glorified
> (ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου δοξασθῇ)
> and might be revealed in their rejoicing (καὶ ὀφθῇ ἐν τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ αὐτῶν),[127]
> shall be brought to shame.

In this rendering, אמרו is pointed as Second Person Plural Imperative, and "my name" is interpretatively related not to "cast out" but to "Lord."

It is not difficult to recognize the significance of this passage for the Christians, especially during the time when they were being excluded from the synagogues and "cast out" for the sake of the Lord Jesus. In addition, the motifs of "word of the Lord," and "those who tremble at His word,"[128] as well as the note of final retribution to the unrighteous ones, strike a familiar note. It should be noted that the verses immediately following 66:5 are extremely significant in the kindred apocalyptic

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[127] This rendering follows the punctuation found in Ziegler's text. Would it be better to place the comma after "revealed," and to read instead, ". . .in their rejoicing shall be brought to shame"?

[128] Note that the phrase "you who tremble at his word" receives a prior explanation and elaboration in 66:2c,d, a passage which immediately follows 66:1,2a, quoted by Stephen in the Acts; see above on this passage.

material present in the Revelation.

However, it is not possible to establish a definite allusion to this verse. There is some similarity in thought and language, and it may well be that behind II Thessalonians 1:12 stands the knowledge of this passage. Yet the context is different, and the principal verb, though a cognate, is not identical. As far as the allusion is concerned, therefore, it can only be regarded as possible.

Colossians 2:3. This and the preceding verse reads, " . . . that their hearts may be encouraged as they are knit together in love, to have all the riches of assured understanding and the knowledge of God's mystery, of Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (ἐν ᾧ εἰσιν πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι)." In the Greek phrase, both Nestle[129] and Ellis[130] see a possible allusion to Isaiah 45:3, "And I will give you the treasures of darkness, and the hoards in secret places (καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινούς, ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους ἀνοίξω σοι)."

The similarity between these phrases is evident. In addition, the rarity of this combination of terms in the O. T. gives added credibility to this possible allusion. On the other hand, the contexts in Isaiah and Colossians are completely dissimilar. In Isaiah, Yahweh is addressing Cyrus, and proclaiming his victory;

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[129]Nestle, op. cit., p. 511.

[130]Ellis, op. cit., p. 154.

in Colossians, Christians are being addressed, and the riches of knowing Christ are stressed. In the former, the "treasures" are material; in the latter, spiritual. Yet the similarities cannot be dismissed.

Therefore, it seems probable that this is a clear case of language flavoring and nothing else.

The Synoptics and the Acts of the Apostles

In this section both the parallel and particular allusions will be considered and evaluated. In addition, it was thought wise to consider the Acts and the Gospel of Luke together. Although Luke made use of various sources in both documents, some light may be shed by considering the allusions in both writings side by side.

The change in usage and atmosphere between the letters of Paul and his disciples and the Gospel writings will become apparent. We suspect that, whereas Paul tended to reflect traditional sources and formulation, the Gospel may reflect a concern to undergird the pre-Resurrection experiences of our Master with scriptural passages. It remains for our analysis to support or reject this proposition. Let us therefore proceed with the possible allusions, in the order of their occurrence in II and III Isaiah.

Luke 2:25. This verse introduces the figure of Simeon in the Lukan birth narrative, "Now there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon, and this man was righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Spirit was upon him."

In the phrase (παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ) Nestle[131] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 40:1 and/or 49:13. To these may be added the following: 51:3,12, 57:18, 61:2, and 66:13. Since the allusion rests only on the term "comforting," it is manifestly impossible to limit the allusion to one passage. All of these are possibilities, and possibly all are alluded to in this usage. Of these, 40:1, 49:13, and 66:13 stand in sections of Isaiah extensively used elsewhere, and 57:18 is found immediately before a passage implemented in Ephesians. The most probable allusion, however, is to 61:2. This passage, which as we shall see below underlies one of the Beatitudes, occurs as a part of the messianically interpreted passages of 61:1-2, cited in the early part of Luke. If one must be chosen, therefore, it would be 61:2. This suggestion is supported by the Christological interest which is to be found in the birth narratives of Luke, which shall be noted below. The ambiguity of the allusion may be attributed to the fact that it was mediated through the cultic formulations which appear in this section.

Luke 2:30a. In the Nunc Dimittis, Simeon says, ". . . for my eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou has prepared in the presence of all peoples. . ." Nestle[132] is certainly correct in seeing in this phrase an allusion to both Isaiah 40:5 and 52:10. The former verse is quoted by Luke in 3:4f.

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[131]Nestle, op. cit., p. 145.

[132]Nestle, ibid., p. 146.

The latter passage occurs in a section of II Isaiah which has been established as a source for N. T. interpretation. Even though the phrase in 40:5 must allude to the Greek version, in 52:10 it could refer either to the Greek or the Hebrew. This allusion may be regarded as definite.

Matthew 24:35; Mark 13:31. Both Synoptics read, "Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away (ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ παρελεύσονται)."[133] Nestle[134] suggests that in the latter phrase, "my words shall not pass away," is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 40:8, ". . .the word of our God will stand for ever."

The suggested allusion, of course, is found in the intensely apocalyptic section of both Matthew and Mark, a source which most scholars regard as composite in authorship and derived from several sources.[135] Can the particular verse before us be regarded as an utterance of Jesus? The question involves Jesus' own sense

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[133]The text given is the Markan reading of B and D*. The other Mss. read μη after ου. In Matthew the μη is present in all Mss., but the verbs are 3rd Per. Sing. Future Passive Ind. and 3rd Per. Plur. Aorist Passive Subj. respectively. In addition, the original text of Aleph (ℵ*) omitted the verse entirely, an omission for which no explanation is readily available. The fluidity of verbal forms, and especially the omission of the phrase in Matthew--perhaps in the archetype--raises doubts concerning the authenticity of the passage.

[134]Nestle, op. cit., p. 67.

[135]See G. R. Beasley-Murray, Jesus and the Future (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1954), for a comprehensive discussion of Mark 13 and parallels, and for this particular verse the index to scriptures in this book.

of authority, a subject much too broad to be explored at this point. On the one hand, several sections in the Gospels indicate a peculiar sense of authority on the part of Jesus;[136] in addition, a strong sense of authority is indicated by the title "son of man" which Jesus employed, and by the term "prophet," and perhaps "Christ," used with reference to him. On the other hand, involved in this allusion is the identification of Jesus with at the very least the authority of Yahweh, and perhaps His person; it is doubtful whether Jesus would accept this daring relationship and would advocate it.

It is extremely likely that here we have an allusion arising out of the matrix of the interpretation of the early church. We have noted above that this passage is cited with reference to Jesus the Risen Lord, and that the text of the passage differs in the substitution of "Lord" for "God." The presence of this citation, the authority in the church of Jesus' words, and the composite nature of this section favors this alternative.

Acts 10:36. Nestle[137] sees in this passage a possible allusion to Isaiah 40:9. However, as we have seen above in our discussion of Ephesians 2:17 and 6:15, the phrase "preaching peace" (εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην) is rooted in the kerygmatic tradition of the early church. If a single scriptural basis is to be found, the phrase refers to Isaiah 52:7. In that passage,

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[136] See, e.g., Matthew 5:21-48.

[137] Nestle, op. cit., p. 500.

unlike 40:9, the term "preaching good news" is coupled with "peace."

Matthew 18:10-14; Luke 15:4-7. Nestle[138] suggests that in these passages is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 40:11,

> He will feed his flock like a shepherd,
> he will gather the lambs in his arms,
> he will carry them in his bosom,
> and gently lead those that are with young.

The N. T. verses both contain parables concerned with a "good shepherd," who seeks the lost and rejoices over them when they are found. This image was clearly implemented with reference to the Risen Christ by the early church. Here, if scripture stands in the background, the "shepherd" is God. This image is prevalent in the Old Testament, being found in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Psalms, and elsewhere. If a scriptural allusion is necessary, it is doubtful whether Isaiah 40:11 can be singled out, since the context is somewhat different: in Isaiah, as well as elsewhere, the emphasis is upon gentleness and leading, whereas in the parable the emphasis is upon seeking and rejoicing. Sufficient basis for the parable is found outside the Scripture in the common experience of the many shepherds of Judea in Jesus' day. Thus the allusion is somewhat unlikely.

Luke 1:54,55. Nestle[139] suggests an allusion to Isaiah 41:8,9 in this passage. In the Magnificat, Mary says,

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[138] Nestle, ibid., p. 263.

[139] Ibid., p. 142.

He [God] has helped (ἀντελάβετο) his servant
Israel (Ἰσραηλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ)
in remembrance of his mercy,
as he spoke to our fathers,
to Abraham and his posterity (τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ)
forever.

Ziegler's edition of the LXX, which is relatively faithful in this case to the MT, reads

Σὺ δέ, Ισραηλ, παῖς μου Ιακωβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα Αβρααμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα, οὗ ἀντελαβόμην ἀπ' ἄκρων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκοπιῶν αὐτῆς ἐκάλεσά σε καὶ εἶπά σοι Παῖς μου εἶ, ἐξελεξάμην σε καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπόν σε,

The translation is an acceptable rendering of the Hebrew, but the punctuation is wrong, a variation which of course was not present in the ancient Mss. Quite clearly, the first verse should be punctuated as follows: Yahweh first directs the words to Israel with the emphatic pronoun "you," then follows three distinct phrases of address, "Israel my servant," "Jacob whom I have chosen," and "the seed of Abraham whom I have loved."[140] "Israel my servant" and "the seed of Abraham" are clearly reflected in this N. T. passage, as is the verb ἀντελαβόμην. The allusion is therefore definite; what is more, the passage is implemented with a full awareness of its context.

It has been suggested that Luke 1:54 alludes to Isaiah 42:1.[141] Only one verbal agreement supports this suggestion,

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[140] So James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by G. A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), p. 453 ff.

[141] C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1952), p. 89, note 1.

and many considerations speak against it, not least of which is the usage of 42:1 elsewhere in the N. T. tradition. That usage we will discuss further shortly.

Acts 18:9,10. An allusion to two passages in Isaiah has been suggested;[142] the passage itself presents the words of comfort received by Paul in Corinth in the midst of difficulties, and reads, "Do not fear (μὴ φοβοῦ), but speak and do not be silent; for I am with you (διότι ἐγώ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ), and no man shall attack you to harm you; for I have many people in this city." Although in context the passage is similar to Exodus 3:12 and Joshua 1:5,9, it is almost identical with phrases found in Isaiah 41:10 and 43:5. Both passages occur in passages of comfort addressed by God to Israel; the former reads μὴ φοβοῦ, μετὰ σοῦ γάρ εἰμι , the latter μὴ φοβοῦ, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι. Except for the transposition of μετὰ σοῦ and the presence of διότι rather than ὅτι, the phrases in Acts are a quotation of the latter passage. The allusion must therefore be regarded as definite.

The allusion, however, is not necessarily intentional. Yahweh (the Lord) in Isaiah constantly reiterates his presence with and his protection for his people Israel. The phrase "Do not fear" in both the Old Testament and the New is a word of assurance in the presence of the Holy One. After the Risen One was regarded as the Sovereign Lord, the same phrases could be used

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[142] Nestle, op. cit., p. 356.

to convey His comforting assurances. This is precisely what we find in this passage, for it is not the Lord (Yahweh) who speaks to Paul but the Lord (Jesus). The same assurance is reflected in the Great Commission, Matthew 28:20. The identification of Jesus with the Lord of Second Isaiah, and the application of the utterances of Yahweh to the Lord (Jesus) had, as we have seen and shall see, tremendous significance.

Mark 1:11, 9:7; Matt. 3:17, 17:5; Luke 1:54; Acts 3:13 ff. This is the first group of possible allusions that we have encountered. However, the group is not as homogeneous as it appears. Luke 1:54, considered above, definitely refers not to Isaiah 42:1 but to 41:8,9. Not only the linguistic affinities support this conclusion but also the usage of 42:1 elsewhere in the Synoptic tradition, and perhaps in Acts.

The first two passages above are concerned with the baptismal formula, especially the phrase "my beloved Son" (ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός); the third reference is to the same phrase found in the Transfiguration account in Matthew 17:5 (// Mark 9:7); in all of these a reflection of Isaiah 42:1 is suggested.[143] The passage in Acts is concerned with the title παῖς, also related supposedly with Isaiah 42:1,[144] but this reference must be considered apart from the baptismal and transfiguration formulae. It is well to

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[143]The allusion in the baptismal formula is suggested by Dodd, op. cit., p. 89; Nestle, op. cit., p. 6, 85; in the transfiguration account by Nestle, ibid., p. 45.

[144]Nestle, ibid., p. 305.

remember that in Matthew 12:18 we have a Greek text of Isaiah 42:1-4 which differs radically from the LXX. This text and its purpose has been discussed extensively above. All that need concern us here is the first line; for comparison's sake the MT, LXX, as well as Matt. 12:18, the passages before us, and other occurrences will be given.

MT	LXX
הֵן עַבְדִּי	Ιακωβ ὁ παῖς μου,
אֶתְמָךְ-בּוֹ	ἀντιλήμψομαι αὐτοῦ

Matt. 12:18

ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἠρέτισα,
ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν[a] εὐδόκησεν
ἡ ψυχή μου
[a]Koine Θ pc εις ον ;
C* D al Ir[lat] εν ω

Matt. 17:5

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου
ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα
ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ

Matt. 3:17

[a-]οὗτός ἐστιν[a] ὁ υἱός μου
ὁ ἀγαπητός ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα
[a-a]D Q Sys[c] Ir συ ει

Mark 9:7

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου
ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ

Mark 1:11

σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου
ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ[a] εὐδόκησα
[a]Koine W pm ω

Luke 9:35

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου
ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος,
αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε
[a]C Koine D pl lat Marc Clem αγαπητος; Θ pc [b]εκλεκτος
[b]after ἐκλε. D Ψ al εν ω ηυδοκησα

II Peter 1:17

[a-]ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου
οὗτός ἐστιν,[a] εἰς ὃν ἐγω
εὐδοκησα
[a-a]Hez (including A ℵ) Koine pl transpose 781-5

In the light of this comparison, several inferences may be made. First, the baptismal and transfiguration formula, even at the time our New Testament documents were written, was not fixed

in form or content. In the address, all Synoptics agree on οὗτός ἐστιν in the transfiguration account, and Matthew has the same reading in the baptismal utterance; however, Mark disagrees with himself in that he has the second person σὺ εἶ in the baptismal account. II Peter 1:17, according to B, places this address after the title, rather than before, and it may be assumed that this is the text of the utterance as the author received it, i.e., the text present in his church community. With respect to "in whom I am well pleased," Mark changes the person to conform to the address in the baptismal utterance; he omits the phrase entirely in the transfiguration statement, as does Luke. Therefore, Luke nowhere records this phrase. Matthew has identical readings in both occurrences, yet II Peter differs in the preposition, and he inserts the emphatic personal pronoun ἐγω. Even concerning ὁ ἀγαπητός there is some fluidity, due either to interpretation or source, for Luke omits this term and instead reads ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος. Only the title ὁ υἱός μου is fixed. Therefore, this title must be regarded as the nucleus around which the other terminology became clustered.

This title, ὁ υἱός μου, is generally considered as being derived from Psalm 2:7. This origin seems to be certain, and further evidence will be adduced below. This text was pivotal in the ideology of kingship as developed within ancient Israel, and was closely associated, both in terms of authorship and usage, with the Davidic house. In time, therefore, it occupied a central place in messianic thought, and by this means became extremely significant

in the apologetic preaching of Jesus the Messiah.[145]

Secondly, indications are present that the context of the transfiguration account is the original one, and that the presence of the utterance in the baptismal narrative is a retrojection of the formula into another framework. This contention receives partial support from Luke's omission of the baptismal narrative, and full support from the clear inference in II Peter that the utterance was heard on the mount of transfiguration. It would seem that the original address in the formula was οὗτός ἐστιν and that Mark adapted the formula to the baptismal account; it is noteworthy that Matthew did not follow Mark in this respect.

Further support for this contention is derived from an examination of the auxiliary phrases in the formula: ὁ ἀγαπητός and ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα. The former of these seems to be an allusion to another familiar motif: the story of Abraham and Isaac. Above it was noted that there are indications in the writings of Paul that Isaac was considered the prototype of Christ; even as Isaac was the heir of the promise, so Christ is the heir of the promise in its fulfillment. We cannot linger here over this point, but must rely on our previous examination. Significantly, the term ἀγαπητός is used with reference to Isaac.[146] The term may have been transferred to

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[145]The verse is cited in Acts 13:33; Hebrews 1:5, 5:5, 7:28.

[146]Gen. 22:2, both as adjective and as a verb, also verses 12 and 16. Note that this act is directly related to the fulfillment of the covenant promise. It is well to note also that the term occurs in a verbal form in the messianic passage I Chronicles 17:16.

Christ, since he, like Isaac, is the one through whom Abraham's descendants come to be and he, like Isaac, is the "only-begotten son" "delivered up" unto death.[147] The second phrase is associated with the Davidic motif. The phrase appears in II Samuel 11:20, where David is speaking of the favor which the Lord God has bestowed upon him. It should also be noted that the phrase ἀκούετε αὐτοῦis an allusion to Deuteronomy 18:15,19, concerning the prophet like unto Moses, and that the voice from heaven is parallel to the account of the voice of God speaking to Moses on Mt. Sinai (Deuteronomy 4:12). It should be observed that all three events alluded to in this formula -- Psalm 2:7 addressed to the king on Mt. Zion, the offering up of Isaac on the mount, and the voice on Mt. Sinai (or Horeb) -- all took place on a mountain. Since the transfiguration, in which all three elements are brought together, also took place on a mountain, it would seem that this context is more appropriate than that of baptism. In that the formula reflects adoption or confirmation as "son," it was deemed appropriate at the very beginning of Jesus' ministry; this, however, would appear to be a secondary context.

The inference has been made that we have here to do with primarily a messianic formulation. Our examination of the peculiarly Christian rendering of Isaiah 42:1ff, in Matthew, will give added credence to this inference. There can be little doubt that the expressions ὁ ἀγαπητός and ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκασα are definitely

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[147] See above.

related to the similar phrases in 42:1 found in Matthew. It is difficult to say whether this identity is due to the influence of this rendering of Isaiah 42:1 or to a common process of reflection, study, and interpretation. The common words would carry the same connotations of messianic thought, especially if the central phrase -- ὁ υἱός μου -- were present. In its place, however, stands the term ὁ παῖς μου. This phrase, according to Arndt and Gingrich,[148] can assume the meaning either of "servant" or "son," and sometimes it is difficult to determine which meaning is intended. Whether in Isaiah 42:1 we translate with "servant" or "son," the important thing is to note the connotations of the term. It would seem that the term definitely had messianic overtones. Several occurrences make this quite clear. In the pericope concerning the establishment of the Davidic covenant and house, the term is used in the LXX repeatedly and almost cultically with respect to David and his son.[149] In II Chronicles 6:15, 16, 17, as Solomon is praying to God at the dedication of the Temple, the same cultic usage appears. The same connotations are present in the New Testament passages. In Luke 1:69 and Acts 4:25, the same technical phrase is to be found, both apparently taken from cultic use. What is more, the title is used of Jesus in Acts 3:13, 3:26, 4:27, 4:30. In the

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[148] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., pp. 609-10.

[149] I Chronicles 17:4,17,23,24,25,26,27. In the same passages τὸν δοῦλόν σου is used thrice with reference to David. Note also the terms ἀναστήσω, υἱός, ἀγαπάω, which would have deep overtones for the Christian interpreter.

last two Jesus and David are closely identified, and Jesus is clearly considered the Messiah (4:26,27). In the former two passages, the same identification is present (3:19,20), but in addition, Jesus the Christ is proclaimed "the prophet like unto Moses" whom the people must hear (3:22,23), and the means by which the posterity of Abraham is to receive the blessing (3:25). Thus, here also we find the three elements of Isaac the prototype, the prophet like unto Moses, and the son of David, the same motifs noted above in the phraseology of the Christian rendering of Isaiah 42:1.

Now we are in a position to assess the influence of 42:1 upon the New Testament tradition. J. Jeremias, after an exhaustive and brilliant discussion of the title παῖς θεοῦ,[150] concludes

> Παῖς θεοῦ, however, in the O. T. and in late Judaism, was at no time a title of the Messiah . . .but occurs without exception as a messianic designation only in the form 'my servant' of divine discourse; whereas in Acts, as the possessive pronouns show ('his'--Acts 3.13,36; 'thy' servant--4.27,30), servant of God is a title of Jesus. Thus παῖς θεοῦ as a messianic title cannot have been transferred to Jesus.[151]

This conclusion is in part true and in part false. It is true that the phrase was at no time a title of the Messiah, but that connotation was derived from its context; it is true that it occurs as a messianic designation only in connection with divine discourse, but this is required by the very meaning of the term.

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[150] W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, in the Studies in Biblical Theology series, No. 20 (Naperville, Ill: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 79 ff. The conclusions reached by Jeremias will be further examined below.

[151] Ibid., p. 86.

It is not true that the phrase never stands alone: in every one of these portentuous O. T. verses--I Chronicles 17:17,24,25,27-- the phrase "thy servant" stands alone! Therefore, Jeremias' conclusion that this phrase must refer to the "servant" motif in Isaiah 42 and 53 is not valid. Indeed, the fixed status of ὁ υἱός μου, the connotations of ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα , the fact that αἱρετίζω is used four times with reference to David and his son,[152] and the technical and ancient usage of the term παῖς with reference to both David and Jesus all indicate that Isaiah 42:1 in the particular Christian rendering found in Matthew was itself interpreted messianically. The "servant motif" of II Isaiah does not lie at the basis of the baptismal and transfiguration formula; rather the conviction expressed in the formula lies at the basis of the peculiar rendering of Isaiah 42:1 found in Matthew. This will be explored further in our conclusion; here it is only necessary to establish the messianic connotations surrounding and lying behind 42:1 in these particular Christian circles.

Acts 17:24,25. Nestle[153] suggests that in the words "The God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and

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[152]All four occurrences are within one pericope: I Chronicles 28:4, 6, 10, 29:1. The last of these is almost identical with the translation of the phrase in Isaiah 42:1 in Matthew. This pericope, along with two others, and their parallels, seems to be the chief sources from which the messianic motifs of the New Testament writers were drawn. Note in this pericope the phrases Ἀκούσατέ μου, and "for I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be to him a father."

[153]Nestle, op. cit., p. 354.

earth, . . .he himself gives to all men life and breath and everything," is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 42:5. This allusion is probable, and the adaptation of portions of 42:5, and its fusion with other scripture texts, is clear in the Greek text. The conception of God as He who made heaven and earth and all things in them, who gives breath to all creatures, is certainly not distinctive with II Isaiah. To be sure, this conviction receives emphatic expression in that work, but no more so than elsewhere. The appearance of this phraseology seems to be the result of liturgical usage, either Jewish or Christian in origin, or both.

Luke 2:32. Simeon, in response to the sight of the child Jesus, said, ". . .for mine eyes have seen thy salvation . . . a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy people Israel." Several allusions are suggested by Nestle.[154] In the phrase, "a light . . .to the Gentiles," there is an allusion possibly to Isaiah 42:6, probably to 49:6, and perhaps both. The latter passage is quoted by Luke in the Acts (13:47) with reference to the preaching of Paul and Barnabas of the Risen Lord. Certainly this passage was in mind, and perhaps the former as well. The second phrase, "for glory to thy people Israel," is possibly an allusion to Isaiah 46:13, though this cannot be definitely established. All of these allusions are clearly mediated by the liturgy and cultic use of the church, rather than being an independent creation.

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[154] Ibid., p. 146.

Matthew 11:5; Luke 1:79; Acts 16:18. It would be well to treat these passages separately. The first, Matthew 11:5, constitutes an answer to the query of John the Baptist. Dodd[155] sees in the phrase, "the blind receive their sight," an allusion to Isaiah 42:7. This is unlikely. It was indicated above, as a part of the discussion on the citation of Isaiah 61:1ff. in Luke, that this probably constitutes an allusion to that passage.

Luke 1:78,79, a part of the utterance of Zechariah, reads, "when the day shall dawn upon us from on high to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death." The former phrase we shall discuss below; the latter phrase, according to Dodd,[156] contains a possible allusion to Isaiah 42:7. There is a possibility, but only a possibility, that the verb "sit" is taken from this verse; the rest of the phrase is clearly derived from the LXX version of Isaiah 9:1, except for the verb "to give light" which, not being identical with the counterpart in the LXX, may be an independent rendering.

By far the most interesting of these verses is Acts 26:18. Paul is giving his account, according to Luke, to King Agrippa of his conversion. Beginning with verse 17 with Jesus speaking, ". . .delivering you from the people and from the Gentiles -- to whom I send you to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and . . ." The phrase "to whom I send you" may embody an

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[155]Dodd, op. cit., p. 90.

[156]Dodd, op. cit., p. 90.

allusion to 61:1, "for he (the Lord) has sent me;" if so, then the Lord surely means the Risen Lord, and not the Lord (Yahweh). There may be no allusion present however. The phrases "to open their eyes" and "from darkness to light" probably are allusions to Isaiah 42:7 and 42:16, respectively. Is it significant that these phrases, and the language of the surrounding verses, are extremely similar to Isaiah 49:6-9, parts of which are explicitly applied to Paul and other missionary preachers and parts of which Paul himself seems to have been thoroughly conversant with? Whether these words in Acts are Paul's or Luke's they indicate the implementation of these passages with respect to the heralds of the good news. This allusion seems probable.

Matthew 28:20. Dodd[157] suggests the possibility of an allusion to Isaiah 43:2,5, in the words of the Risen Lord, "I am with you." This suggestion seems highly unlikely. It is true that in Acts 18:10 there is a probable allusion to this verse, but to say that the verse is also present in Matthew 28:20 is going beyond the evidence.

Acts 1:8, 5:32. Dodd proposes that in these verses we have an allusion to Isaiah 43:10.[158] Dodd notes that in Acts 5:32 and John 15:26-27, which will be discussed below, the words "you, and I the Lord, and my servant" are replaced with "you and the Spirit"; from this substitution, Dodd suggests that here we have a reflection of the belief in the "witness" of God through the Servant in the

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[157] Dodd, ibid., p. 90.

[158] Dodd, ibid., p. 90.

early church. Unhappily this conclusion is based more on Dodd's assumption than on his evidence. Dodd has succeeded in calling to the attention of students an extremely important motif, one which the majority of scholars have either overlooked or underestimated. This motif is clearly the direct influence of Second Isaiah; it consists in the self-identification of the early Christians as the "witnesses" of the Lord.

In Isaiah 43:11-12 and 44:8 this image comes to the fore. With power and profound insight Isaiah makes use of the term "witness" with respect to the mission of Israel; drawing this motif from juridical terminology, he seems to have been the first to implement it with regard to Israel. The significance of this term is great, so great that it was not until the coming of the Lord Jesus that it was noted and fulfilled. In ancient Israel Yahweh spoke mainly through individuals, who more or less were representatives of the community, e.g., the patriarchs, Moses, David, the priests and wise men, and the prophets. Yet each was an office into which only a few Israelites, relatively speaking, could enter. With the conception of Israel as Yahweh's "witness" a function was defined which any Israelite could fulfill. Any Israelite could testify to the acts of Yahweh in history, in calling, guiding, and redeeming his people Israel; any Israelite could affirm the truth and the reality of His saving power in history and in the community, through His covenant with His people.

Especially in Isaiah 43:11-13 the designation of Israel as "witnesses" is presented in conjunction with the power and

uniqueness of her Lord. James Muilenburg lucidly interprets this passage, pointing out the emphatic nature of the asservations of Yahweh. The emphasis upon the aloneness of Yahweh and his activity in utterance and historical action is clear from Muilenburg's presentation of the literary structure:

> I, I am Yahweh, and there is not a savior beside me;
> I declared, and I saved, and I proclaimed, and there is not an alien god among you;
> I am God . . . I am He, and there is not any who can deliver . .;
> I work, and who can hinder it?[159]

Second only to these asservations is the mission of His people: "you are my witnesses," "and my servant whom I have chosen," (43:10) "you are my witnesses," (43:12) who bear testimony to the sovereignty, uniqueness, and saving activity of the Lord Yahweh. A similar context is found in 44:6-8, and in verse 8 the designation is again present, "And you are my witnesses!"

If the early Christian identified their Risen One with the Lord of Second Isaiah, one would expect this commission to be implemented with respect to the apostolic preaching and the gospel of Jesus the Lord. This precisely is what is found. Although we cannot exhaust this subject here, but must resume it again below, we can examine the passages in the Synoptics and Acts where this sense of mission as "witnesses" is explicitly stated. In two passages, the Risen Lord is recorded as speaking: in Luke 24:48, the author relates how Jesus, speaking of his passion and resurrection and the forgiveness available through Him, says, "you are witnesses

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[159] James Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 489f.

of these things (ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων)," and in Acts 1:8, perhaps an account parallel to the former verse, or a repetition of it, Jesus the Risen One says, "and you shall be my witnesses (καὶ ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες)." This conviction runs throughout the Acts. Peter, speaking to his fellow disciples concerning a replacement for Judas, says, "one of these must become with us a witness to his resurrection (1:22)." Peter, speaking at Pentecost, affirms, "this Jesus God raised from the dead, of that we all are witnesses (2:32)." In his sermon after the healing of the lame man, Peter says, "You . . .killed the Author of life, whom God raised from the dead. To this we are witnesses (3:14,15)." Luke, using the verb, says concerning the apostles, after the arrest of Peter and John, "and with great power the apostles gave their testimony [i.e., "witness"] to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus (4:32)." Peter, speaking to the council, and testifying to the exaltation of Jesus, says, "and we are witnesses to these things (5:32)." An extremely important passage is found in Peter's sermon to Cornelius, Acts 10:36-43,

> You know the word which he sent to Israel, preaching good news of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all), the word which was proclaimed throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached: how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power; how he went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him. And we are witnesses (ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες) to all that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem. They put him to death by hanging him on a tree; but God raised him on the third day and made him manifest; not to all the people but to us who were chosen by God as witnesses (μάρτυσιν τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡμῖν), who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead. And he commanded us to

> preach to the people, and to testify (διαμαρτύρασθαι) that he is the one ordained by God to be judge of the living and the dead. To him all the prophets bear witness (μαρτυροῦσιν) that every one who believes in him receives forgiveness of sins through his name."

In Acts 13:30,31, Paul says in his sermon in Antioch of Pisidia, "But God raised him from the dead; and for many days he appeared to those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses to the people." Paul related, before the crowd at Jerusalem, how Ananias had delivered to him his commission, "And he said, 'The God of our fathers appointed you to know his will, to see the Just One and to hear a voice from his mouth; for you will be a witness for him to all men of what you have seen and heard '" (22:14,15). Before Agrippa, Paul, this time repeating the word of the Lord Jesus, relates, ". . .for I have appeared to you for this purpose, to appoint you to serve and bear witness to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you, . ."(26:16).

From this presentation several inferences may be drawn. First, the primary fact to which the apostles are to witness is the resurrection of their Lord Jesus. In every instance this association is present, and in Acts 1:8, 22, 2:32, 3:15, 4:33, 5:32, 10:39, and 13:31 the resurrection as the primary fact of their witness is explicitly indicated. In a few instances, such as Luke 24:48, the meaning has been somewhat--but not completely--

broadened.[160] Secondly, since the resurrection was considered the most striking saving act of God, and through the resurrection Jesus was exalted as Lord, it is only to be expected that the Lordship of Christ is bound up with the witness of the apostles. This in context is always the case. Thirdly, this motif appears in five out of the six sections in Acts which C. H. Dodd regards as expressions of the primitive kerygma,[161] and the remaining section is clearly incomplete. It may be regarded as established, therefore, that this motif was extremely ancient with respect to the life of the church, and arose not in the Hellenistic but Palestinian milieu. This observation will have significance when the final conclusions to this study are drawn.

It may be concluded that in this image of "witnesses" is to be found a definite and significant allusion to II Isaiah. It is also definite that the context of both sections is involved; the explication of these contexts will of necessity be carried out below.

Matthew 14:25; Mark 6:48. Both passages are found in the account of Jesus' walking on the sea, and the phrase περιπατῶν ἐπὶ

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[160] Note that in the chief derivative of this verb, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, the emphasis is maintained but the scope is much wider. In every instance, however, the observations made above hold good. Cf. Acts 2:40, 8:25, 10:42, 18:5, 20:21,23,24, 23:11, 28:23.

[161] C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (London: Hodder & Stoughton Limited, 1951). It is strange that nowhere does Dodd discuss the element of "witness." Perhaps in his emphasis on kerygma, the role of witness was slighted; in any case, they are complementary.

τῆς θαλάσσης is of immediate interest to us. Nestle[162] suggests that in this phrase we have a possible allusion to Isaiah 43:16, "Thus says the Lord, who makes a way in the sea, a path in the mighty waters," a sentence very similar to the second reference given by Nestle, Psalm 77:20. Yet both the terminology and the structure in Isaiah and the Psalm is different. On the other hand, it seems that the phrase, and in part the episode, is an allusion to Job 9:8. Several considerations make this likely. The phrase in the N. T. is found in its entirety in Job 9:8. The Markan phrase, "he meant to pass them by," found immediately after the one above, seems to be an allusion to Job 9:11. Therefore, at least these phrases seem to be the result of intensive study and reflection on Job 9, assisted by the title "Lord" in Job 9:2. It should be noted that in this section in Job the full powers of the Lord of Creation are depicted. If this passage was applied to the Lord Jesus, these powers would be attributed to Him, thus arriving at the same viewpoint expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews 1:10-12.

Mark 2:6; Luke 5:21. In the healing of the paralytic borne by four, these words are found, according to Mark,

> And when Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic, "My son, your sins are forgiven." Now some of the scribes were sitting there, questioning in their hearts. "Why does this man speak thus? It is blasphemy! Who can forgive sins but God alone?" And immediately Jesus, perceiving in his spirit that they thus questioned within themselves, said to them, "Why do you question thus in your hearts? Which is

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[162]Nestle, ibid., pp. 38, 102.

> easier, to say to the paralytic, 'Your sins are forgiven,' or to say, 'Rise, take up your pallet and walk'? But that you may know that the Son of man has authority on earth to forgive sins"--he said to the paralytic-- "I say to you, rise, take up your pallet and go home." And he rose, and immediately took up his pallet and went out before them all; so that they were all amazed and glorified God, saying, "We never saw anything like this!"[163]

In the response of the scribes, "Why does this man speak thus? It is blasphemy! Who can forgive sins but God alone?", Nestle[164] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 43:25, 55:7, and perhaps Psalm 130:4. These scriptures, especially the passages from Isaiah, may very well have been in the minds of the scribes.

If this was so, then the scripture has been turned against them, for here there seems to be a definite allusion to Isaiah 43:25 and more especially 55:7, not with regard to the response of the scribes but to the authority of the Son of man. It is clear that the point of the pericope is not the healing of a paralytic but whether or not Jesus had authority to forgive sins. The scribes thought not, and, judging from the reaction of the people, the crowd agreed with the scribes. Yet the witness of the gospel writers is that, contrary to all expectations, Jesus the Son of man did have that authority. Behind this record the passages from Isaiah are likely to be found. In Isaiah 43:25, the Hebrew reads, "I, I am He, who blots out your transgressions for my own sake, and I will not remember your sins," whereas the LXX reads, "I am He, I

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[163] Mark 2:5-12 (// Luke 5:20-26)

[164] Nestle, op. cit., pp. 88, 156.

am He, who wipes away and does not remember your sins." In Isaiah 55:7, a part of that climactic chapter of II Isaiah, the MT reads, "let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thought; let him return to the Lord, that he may have mercy on him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." The LXX, on the other hand, diverges in important respects, "let the wicked forsake his ways and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy, for he will abundantly forgive our sins."

On numerous occasions we have noted the identification of the Risen Lord with the Lord of II Isaiah. Therefore, there seems good reason to suspect that here we find the application of this scripture to the Risen Lord, a conviction which is thrust back into the gospel narrative. Significantly, it was necessary to convincingly demonstrate that Jesus had this power during his ministry; the healing of the paralytic provided such a setting for the discussion and proclamation of Jesus' power to forgive sins. This would account for the confusion which has been noted in this pericope. Is it possible that the motif of "forgiveness of sins," so prominent in the kerygmatic passages of Acts and elsewhere, is a reflection of the application of these Scriptures. This is not impossible, it would seem, although other bases for this motif are available.

Did Jesus himself teach that he had the power to forgive sins? This is difficult to determine. Certainly he did not on the basis of these Scriptures from Isaiah, since it would involve a self-

identification with God. Yet we are unable to say whether or not, on other grounds, this motif is historical. The scriptures from Isaiah, in any case, were of significance in the interpretation of the early church.

Mark 1:11. C. H. Dodd[165] suggests that in this passage and its parallels, which have been discussed extensively above, is a possible allusion to Isaiah 44:1-2. This is highly unlikely, since neither the language, phraseology, nor other factors indicate an allusion.

Mark 13:27. This verse, appearing in the Little Apocalypse, reads, "And then he [the Son of man] will send out the angels, and gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven." In the gathering of the elect, Dodd[166] sees an allusion possibly to Isaiah 49:5, where Yahweh speaks of the gathering of Israel by the servant. This is little more than a conjecture on Dodd's part, however. In actual fact, the gathering of the elect constituted a common element in apocalyptic literature; in addition, the verse before us is clearly a fusion of Zechariah 2:10 and Deuteronomy 30:4, as Nestle[167] indicates. The servant motif is not present in this N. T. passage.

Luke 2:31. Dodd[168] points to a possible relation between

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[165]Dodd, According to the Scriptures, op. cit., p. 90.

[166]Ibid., p. 91.

[167]Nestle, op. cit., p. 125.

[168]Dodd, op. cit., p. 91.

this verse and the phrase "covenant of the Gentiles" of Isaiah 49:8. It must be confessed that this writer sees no relationship whatever between these two verses.

Matthew 8:11; Luke 13:29. These passages are important, for they are found in a saying of Jesus, and probably have significance for his use of scripture. Nestle[169] suggests possible allusions to Psalm 107:3, Malachi 1:11, Isaiah 49:12, or 59:19. A comparison reveals little resemblance between the passages in Malachi or Isaiah; if allusions are present, which is doubtful, they are only secondary. Rather, Jesus seems to be clearly reflecting Psalm 107:3 in this saying, for, except for the last term "south," the language is identical. The allusion to Psalm 107 must be considered probable; the allusions to Isaiah unlikely.

Mark 3:27. Jesus says in this passage, "But no one can enter a strong man's house and plunder his goods, unless he first binds the strong man; then indeed he may plunder his house." Dodd[170] sees in this verse a possible echo of Isaiah 49:24-25. Dodd admits, however, that there is no language similarity. It seems impossible to demonstrate either that there is or is not an allusion present. Since the title "Lord" is associated with this saying, certainly in the early church it may have been meaningful. If Jesus' saying is an allusion, he may have taken his figure of

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[169] Nestle, op. cit., pp. 18, 192.

[170] Dodd, op. cit., p. 91. Nestle, op. cit., p. 91, sees no allusion here.

speech from this section. The context, however, does not seem to be involved. In addition, it may be suggested that Jesus was using common imagery rather than an image based on scripture. Considering these factors, the allusion seems somewhat unlikely.

Mark 14:65, 15:15; Matthew 26:67, 27:26. Isaiah 50:6 reads, in the LXX,

> I gave my back to the smiters (τὸν νῶτόν μου δέδωκα εἰς μάστιγας), and my cheeks to blows (τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσμα), and I did not turn my face away from the shame of spittings (τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου . . . ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης ἐμπτυσάτων).

In the passages above Dodd[171] sees allusions to this verse from Isaiah. These verses all are concerned with the treatment of Jesus after his arrest. The allusions are detected in several words: ἐνέπτυσεν and ἐρράπισαν in Matthew 26:67, ἐμπτύειν and ῥαπίσμασιν in Mark 14:65, and φραγελλώσας in both Matthew 27:26 and Mark 15:15.

On the one hand, these verbal similarities might be linguistic coincidence; yet, on the other hand, we have evidence elsewhere that the section of Isaiah 53 dealing with humiliation and suffering was implemented to describe the suffering of Jesus the Christ. Therefore, the possibility, and perhaps the probability, of these allusions may be admitted.

The significance of these allusions, if such they be, is another matter, and calls for a careful examination of these

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[171]Dodd, op. cit., p. 91.

passages and their Lukan parallel.[172] To be sure, this Lukan parallel seems to have been rewritten and even appears in a different context, yet enough similarity and identity of language is present to constitute an authentic parallel. The Synoptics, however, have only the imperative προφήτευσον in common, an injunction which in Mark stands alone and is incomplete. Not only do Matthew and Luke precede this injunction with the present participle λέγοντες instead of the Markan infinitive λέγειν, but they also agree on the rest of the injunction, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε, which in Matthew is preceded with the mocking vocative χριστέ. The introductory participle may be regarded as a grammatical improvement, especially on Luke's part, yet it is difficult to believe that Matthew and Luke, working independently, would have composed in complete agreement the latter phrase. It would seem, therefore, that Matthew and Luke were making use of a common source, from which Mark had selected his narrative. This conjecture is supported by the similarities between Mark and one of the other gospels, which may either be regarded as Markan influence or evidence of a common source. With Luke the verb περικαλύπτω is held in common, a verb which is omitted in Matthew, to the detriment of clarity. With Matthew, Mark reads the vulgar κολαφίζω, which Luke replaces with the good Greek δέρω. These three phrases are preserved by Matthew and Luke, Mark and Luke, and Mark and Matthew respectively. It seems likely that the verb ἐμπαίζω was in the source, and that

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[172]Luke 22:63-65.

Luke omitted it due to the change in context and his reworking of the pericope. Not so much probability can be ascribed ἐρράπισεν and ῥαπίσμασιν. Not only is the first a verb and the second an adverb, but they have different subjects. Luke omits the stem entirely. It is likely, therefore, that the common source was somewhat as follows:

> Then some began to spit (ἐμπτύειν) on him, to cover his face and to strike (κολαφίζω) him, and to say to him, "Prophesy! Who is the one who struck you?"

The context of Matthew and Mark is to be favored.

In Matthew 27:26, Mark 15:15, and Luke 23:24, both the verb ἀπέλυσεν and the verb παρέδωκεν are held in common. In addition to the general sequence, Mark and Matthew both have the phrases αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν and ἵνα σταυρωθῇ, both of which are replaced by different phraseology in Luke. In addition, both Matthew and Mark include the Aorist participle φραγελλώσας; in Matthew it appears between the object τὸν. . Ἰησοῦν and the verb παρέδωκεν whereas in Mark it follows the verb. In structure, Luke and Matthew are similar, diverging in the location of the objective phrase from Mark. Luke, however, omits the participle φραγελλώσας entirely. If Luke's source was common to Matthew, the participle may have been omitted by him to soften the Roman responsibility for Jesus' suffering. This is sheer conjecture, however. It is likely that the participle was in the source.

From this examination several inferences may be made. First, some resemblance between the suffering of Jesus and the suffering of the servant in Isaiah 50 is discernable, provided these are not

just linguistic coincidences. These resemblances do not involve the motif of vicarious suffering and atonement; they do provide scriptural background for the historical suffering of Jesus. The emphasis on humiliation and suffering is present; no other implications are supported by the evidence. Secondly, Luke's freedom in handling his material is noteworthy. Not only does he rewrite his source, but he omits entirely these allusions to Isaiah 50:6. This is surprising, for we know by the citation of Isaiah 53:7-8 in Acts 8:32-33 and Isaiah 53:12 in Luke 22:37 that he was aware of the servant motif in Isaiah. One may suggest that Luke did not associate Isaiah 50:6 with Isaiah 53, but this is not convincing. Rather, Luke seems to deliberately avoid allusions to Isaiah 50:6. Why? No definite answer can be given, but it may be that the παῖς motif, as we have inferred above, was given another meaning. Specifically, the "servant of the Lord" may have been interpreted in the light of Jesus the Messiah, rather than Jesus the Messiah in the light of the "servant of the Lord," at least within Lukan circles. So much has been implied above as the result of our discussion concerning the word παῖς in Acts. As far as the allusions are concerned, ἐμπτύειν may be regarded as being a part of the primitive source and as historically rooted; the same may be said of φραγελλώσας. The allusion found in ῥαπίσμασιν is probably an interpretative element arising out of the reflection of the early church.

Luke 9:51. In the phrase "he set his face to go to Jerusalem,"

Dodd sees an allusion to Isaiah 50:7, "therefore I have set my face like flint."

Several factors speak against this possibility. Neither the verb "set" nor any other words in the LXX passage is similar to the N. T. Rather, in both passages there seems to be an idiomatic expression, a Greek rendering of a Hebrew idiom. Arndt and Gingrich[173] indicate that the Greek phrase στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον, followed by the genetive of the infinitive with the article, equals the Hebrew אֶל שִׂים פָּנִים. This idiom is found in Ezekiel 6:2, 13:17, 14:8, 15:7, and elsewhere. In this passage, it seems more likely that this idiom is present rather than an allusion to Isaiah 50:7. The phrase denotes firmness of purpose.

Matthew 17:1-8 (and parallels). We have extensively examined the story of the Transfiguration above, so we need not linger here. C. C. Torrey[174] suggests that in the injunction "hear him," heard on the mount, is an allusion to Isaiah 50:4, "tongue for teaching." This possibility is negated by our conclusions above.

Matthew 5:11. Nestle[175] suggests that in this Beatitude, "Blessed are you when men revile (ὀνειδίσωσιν) you . . .", is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 51:7, "fear not the reproach (ὀνειδισμὸν)

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[173] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 775.

[174] C. C. Torrey, "The Influence of II Isaiah in the Gospels and Acts," Journal of Biblical Literature, XLVIII (1929), ed. by George Dahl, B. W. Bacon, F. C. Porter (New Haven, Conn.: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1929), p. 29.

[175] Nestle, op. cit., p. 9.

of men, and be not dismayed at their revilings." In favor of this suggestion is the probability that passages in Isaiah stand behind several of the Beatitudes; yet the word ὀνειδίσωσιν is the only basis for this supposition in this instance. Matthew Black makes no mention of an O. T. basis for this Beatitude.[176] It seems best therefore to regard this as a possible, though not necessarily a probable, allusion.

Luke 2:38. Nestle[177] believes that in this verse we have a possible allusion to Isaiah 52:9cd, ". . .for the Lord has comforted his people (LXX: ὅτι ἠλέησε κύριος αὐτὴν [Ιερουσαλημ] , he has redeemed Jerusalem (LXX: καὶ ἐρρύσατο Ιερουσαλημ)." Luke 2:38 is the final verse dealing with Anna the prophetess. Seeing Jesus in the temple, "she gave thanks to God, and spoke of him to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem (λύτρωσιν Ιερουσαλήμ)." In this last phrase, the allusion is supposedly present.

This is the first instance in which the motif of "redemption" or "ransom" has arisen in our consideration of II Isaiah in relation to the New Testament. Below we will have occasion to enter into the subject further; here it will suffice to discuss the theme and its meaning in Luke-Acts, leaving the other instances for another discussion. In all instances in Luke-Acts this motif

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[176] Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, Second Edition (Oxford: At the Clarndon Press, 1954).

[177] Nestle, op. cit., p. 146.

is associated with the Messiah, and in most instances clearly with Jesus the Messiah. The men on the road to Emmaus, speaking of Jesus, revealed their hopes to Him, ". . .Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people, and how our chief priests and rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him. But we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel (ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ)."[178] The significance of this hope is expressed in Acts 1:6, "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" Stephen, in his sermon before the Council, (Acts 7:35) refers to Moses as "redeemer" (λυτρωτὴν), a title which Jesus would also have since, at least in some circles, he was the prophet greater than Moses. In the liturgical and cultic passages of the birth narratives this meaning of "redemption" is clear. The term λύτρωσιν which is present in 2:38 is clearly messianic in 1:68, and the source of the term is also explicit.

> Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,
> for he has visited and redeemed (ἐποίησεν
> λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ) his people,
> and has raised up a horn of salvation (κέρας σωτηρίας)
> for us
> in the house of his servant David (ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ παιδὸς
> αὐτοῦ).

The phrase ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ contains several definite allusions to the founding of the Davidic house and covenant, from which the Messiah was to come, as related in II Samuel 7 and

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[178] Luke 24:19-21

I Chronicles 17.[179] The phrase κέρας σωτηρίας is a reflection of Psalm 18:3 and 132:17, both closely associated with David the King. The phrase λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ, which is the matter of immediate concern, is selected from Psalm 111:9,

> He has sent redemption to his people;
> he has commanded his covenant for ever.
> Holy and terrible is his name!

Whether this is the covenant with Abraham, the covenant of Sinai, or the covenant with David is not stated. Neither is the question of concern in the psalm of Zechariah; although for this psalm the Davidic covenant seems dominant, it nevertheless is regarded as the fulfillment of the covenant of Abraham.[180] The same relationship has been noted elsewhere.[181] This portion of Psalm 111:9 is fused with elements from many other sources, all of which were intended to give meaning to the birth of John the Baptist and the coming of Jesus the Christ. That the predominant theme is messianic is clearly indicated in the most significant of all the poetic structures in the birth narrative of Luke, the psalm of Gabriel.[182]

Is an allusion present, therefore, in Luke 2:38 to Isaiah

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[179] Concerning the term παῖς, see the discussion above.

[180] Luke 1:55

[181] Acts 3:17-26. See the discussion above.

[182] Nothing but messianism seems to be present:
"He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High;
and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his father
David,
and he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever;
and of his kingdom there will be no end."

52:9? The answer must be negative. It may be that this phrase was meaningful to the early Christians, especially because of the title "Lord," but this meaning was derived from other sources. These sources were certainly the Psalms, even as Luke 1:68 indicates. If an allusion to Isaiah 52:9 is present, it is secondary.

Acts 2:33; 3:13; 5:31. In these three verses, allusions have been seen[183] to Isaiah 42:13, "Behold, my servant shall prosper, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high (LXX: ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα)." In Acts 3:13, the allusion is detected in the words ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν ; in 2:33 and 5:31 in the words ὑψωθείς and ὕψωσεν . Although, by itself, linguistic affinity cannot be a secure basis for conclusions, in this case the allusion may be accepted as likely.

The terms which are involved, as well as the motif of exaltation, has been intensively discussed in connection with Matthew 8:17, Mark 1:11 (and parallels), Acts 3:13, and Philippians 2:9-11, above. As the result of these discussions, it was concluded that the term παῖς and the motif of exaltation were associated either with the Messiahship of Jesus, or his Lordship, or both. These motifs were dominant, and all other motifs, including the "servant of the Lord" theme, were completely subordinated and almost completely assimilated to them. Dodd, finding allusions in these

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[183] Nestle, op. cit., p. 305, sees an allusion in 3:13; Dodd, op. cit., p. 92, in all three.

passages, assumes that the motif of the "servant of the Lord" of Isaiah 53 is involved, which in our opinion is an unjustified assumption which must be demonstrated; therefore, we cannot follow him in this conclusion. Isaiah 52:13, possibly alluded to in these passages, was implemented in connection with the messianic motif and the exaltation of Jesus.

Mark 9:12. Both Nestle[184] and Dodd[185] see in this verse an allusion to Isaiah 53:3, "He was despised and rejected by men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hid their faces he was despised, and we esteemed him not." Dodd notes that the LXX departs widely from the MT, but that the root בזה recurs in Psalm 22:6, where it is represented by ἐξουδένημα. Accordingly, the נבזה of Isaiah 53:3 would be properly rendered by ἐξουδενηθῆ. Mark therefore is correctly representing this prophecy when he says γέγραπται...ἵνα....ἐξουδενηθῆ .[186]

Dodd, of course, is right in his inference concerning the possibility of rendering בזה with ἐξουδενέω. His argument seems to be long and tortuous, and somewhat tenuous, however. Why go to so much trouble to see an allusion to Isaiah 53:3? Why not stop with Psalm 22:6? The Psalm certainly was of extreme importance in interpreting the passion of Jesus. In addition, the phrase "into the hands of men" in kindred sayings, such as Mark 9:31, is similar

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[184]Nestle, op. cit., p. 110.

[185]Dodd, op. cit., p. 92 and 92, note 1.

[186]Dodd, loc. cit.

to Psalm 22. There is no reason to believe that the early church did not see great meaning in Isaiah 53:3, for certainly it was descriptive of his passion, yet nowhere, strangely, is this passage cited or even clearly used; this cannot be said for Psalm 22. The sayings, in part, may preserve an actual saying of Jesus, expressing his awareness of his oncoming arrest and death; such sayings inevitably would take on the meanings of later events and interpretation. Therefore, it may well be that in Mark 9:12 there is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 53:3; on the other hand, an allusion may not be present. The question is still open, and probably will remain so.

Mark 14:61; 15:5. Both Nestle[187] and W. L. Knox[188] see in the silence of Jesus, before the chief priest and before Pilate respectively, a reflection and fulfillment of Isaiah 53:7, "he opened not his mouth."

This suggestion seems likely. Parts of verses 7 and 8 from II Isaiah are, of course, cited in the Acts of the Apostles, so we may be certain that at least in some Christian circles this passage was applied to Jesus. It is worth noting that here, as in the Acts, the emphasis is upon the humiliation of Jesus the Christ. Also, the phrase "so that Pilate marveled," in Mark

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[187] Nestle, op. cit., pp. 131, 132.

[188] Wilfred L. Knox, The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, Vol. I: St. Mark, ed. by H. Chadwick (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1953), p. 135.

15:5, is reminiscent of Isaiah 52:14. The allusion seems probable.

Mark 10:45; 14:24. These verses are of great importance for two reasons: they represent the only instances where vicarious and atoning suffering seems to be present, and in them Jesus refers to himself as the "Son of man." In both of these verses an allusion has been suggested to Isaiah 53:10-12.[189] Mark 10:45 reads, "for the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many (καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν)"; Mark 14:24 reads, "And he said to them, 'This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many (το ἐκχυννόμεν ὑπερ πολλῶν)."

Dodd sees in the term "many" an allusion to the repeated and peculiar "many" of Isaiah 53:1-12. He infers that the term was derived from this source and that it is used in a semi-technical sense. The usage of the term in some instances in the writings of Paul supports Dodd's view. In these documents the term sometimes is used quite clearly in a technical sense to indicate the "many" who constitute the "body of Christ";[190] invariably in these cases the substantive is used with the definite article. However, in

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[189] Dodd, op. cit., p. 93; Nestle, op. cit., p. 116.

[190] Romans 5:15a,c, 19a,b, 12:5; I Cor. 10:17, 33. In commenting on Romans 5:19 above, this semi-technical usage was noted in this verse. Note, however, that the term without the article is used in a non-technical sense in Rom. 16:2; II Cor. 11:18; Gal. 3:16.

Mark,[191] Matthew,[192] and Luke,[193] πολλοί without the article consistently is used as a substantive in various contexts, none of which give evidence of a technical meaning. The same is true of the Acts[194] and II Peter.[195] In fact, the saying in Mark 10:45 is reflected, it would seem, in I Timothy 2:6, where surprisingly πολλῶν is replaced with πάντων. Since the substantive appears without the article and the usage does not suggest a technical meaning in the Synoptic Gospels, no special meaning is present

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[191]E.g., Mark 2:2, 3:10 (// Mt. 12:15; πάντας), 11:8, 13:16 (// Mt 24:5a,b).

[192]E.g., 7:22, 8:11, 26:28.

[193]E.g., Luke 1:1,14.

[194]Acts 9:42. Frank M. Cross, in his book, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958), p. 174, states that "the ruling assembly of the Essenes, made up of all the mature members of the covenanted community is called the Rabbîm, literally, the "Many." It is a technical term in Hebrew which appears in literal translation in the New Testament with similar technical meaning." He cites (1) Acts 15:12, referring to the Jerusalem council, (2) Acts 6:2,5, the assembly which chooses the Seven and places them before the Apostles, and (3) Acts 15:30, the "Many" of the Church at Antioch assembled by Silas and Judas together with Paul and Barnabas to hear the report of the "Many" in Jerusalem. To these references may be added 19:9. However, in none of these instances is πολλῶν used; in each instance the technical term is τό πλῆθος . Even this term, though, can be used of the Sanhedrin in Acts 23:7 and of the crowd of non-Christians present at Pentecost in Acts 2:6.

[195]II Peter 2:2

in this word. It is not unlikely, however, that the term took on special meaning as the Christian church expanded and multiplied prodigiously, the awareness of which is reflected in Galatians 4:27.

This view receives support from the context of Mark 10:45. In that verse, the work of Jesus is referred to as "ransom," λύτρον. The motif of "ransom" clearly implies the release from captivity, from that which enslaves a person.[196] In terms of the messianic hope, the one who "ransoms" Israel is the Messiah, the one who will deliver her from her enemies.[197] In the Hellenistic world, the "ransom" is the price paid for one's freedom from slavery.[198] In Second Isaiah, it is Yahweh who "ransoms" his people from captivity, giving as the price other peoples.[199] Significantly, in the New Testament, it is Jesus Christ who "ransoms" with himself his people from the power of sin. The Christians were formerly slaves to sin, but they had been freed by Jesus the Lord.[200]

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[196] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., pp. 483,484: William Barclay, A New Testament Wordbook (New York: Harper and Brothers, [n. d.]), pp. 76-83.

[197] See the discussion above on Luke 2:38.

[198] So Adolf Deissmann, Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History, from Second Edition, 1927, in the Harper Torchbook series, (trans. by William E. Wilson (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1957), pp. 172-174.

[199] Isaiah 43:3.

[200] Cf. Romans 6:16-22; I Cor. 7:22,23; Gal. 4:1-9, 5:1,13; II Peter 2:19; Titus 2:14; also Matthew 4:10 (// Luke 4:8), Luke 13:6, 10:18; Heb. 2:14; John 12:31, 14:30, 16:11, I John 3:8; Acts 26:18; Eph. 2:2, 4:27; 6:11; Col. 1:13.

This association is not present in Isaiah 53, for there the Servant is not a "ransom" but an offering for sin.[201] Through the Servant, regarded either as Israel in exile or a representative of Israel, Israel's sin is pardoned and she is comforted.[202] In this context, sin is regarded not as a force that enslaves but as a trait which stains and corrupts. Israel must have cleansing, not release. The servant offers himself as an expiatory sacrifice, not as a "ransom" issuing in freedom.[203] This is not to say that elements were not taken from this and other servant passages. We have seen above that this was done. Yet all aspects taken from these servant passages were almost completely assimilated to other images and motifs.[204]

What has been said above with special reference to Mark 10:45 is true also of Mark 14:24. There the phrase "for many" in Mark is related not to the Son of man motif but to the "blood of the covenant." This theme, which we need not explore here, clearly is not taken from II Isaiah but rather from Exodus 24:8. Moreover, the phrase ὑπὲρ πολλῶν in Mark becomes περὶ πολλῶν...εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν in Matthew, which may be regarded as an interpretative re-working.

There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the

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[201] Isaiah 53:10c (MT: אָשָׁם LXX: περὶ ἁμαρτίας)

[202] Isaiah 40:1,2 and elsewhere

[203] For a good discussion of this section of II Isaiah, see James Muilenburg, op. cit., 627-631.

[204] E.g., and especially in Paul, the Adam typology, as found in Romans 5 and elsewhere.

authenticity of these sayings.[205] Into this controversy we need not enter. For the early church, "many" may have had a semi-technical meaning derived from the prodigious expansion of the church. If it were used by Jesus, its semi-technical sense is difficult to demonstrate.

Luke 23:47; Acts 3:14, 7:52, 22:14. In these passages allusions have been seen to the title "my righteous one" in Isaiah 53:11.[206] In the passages in Acts, the term is clearly a title; in Luke 23:47, the designation is not so definite. The term appears elsewhere in relation to Jesus, but in no other passage does it stand alone as a title of our Lord. Whether or not this title is taken from Isaiah 53:11 is debatable.[207] The suggested allusion may be regarded as likely, although this has not been conclusively demonstrated.

Luke 11:21,22. A discussion has been presented above concerning the possibility that in Mark 3:22 there is an allusion to the figure of the strong man in Isaiah 49:24-25. It was con-

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[205] Many scholars doubt their authenticity. See, for example, Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. I, trans. by Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 30, 146, and Werner George Kuemmel, Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus, No. 23 in the Studies in Biblical Theology series (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), trans. by D. M. Barton, pp. 72 ff.

[206] Nestle, op. cit., p. 305. Also C. C. Torrey, op. cit., p. 29.

[207] Torrey's proposal is rejected by H. J. Cadbury, in Vol. V in The Beginnings of Christianity, p. 364, cited by V. Taylor, The Names of Jesus (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1954), p. 82.

cluded that the allusion is unlikely. Luke 11:21 is the parallel to that Markan passage. Dodd[208] suggests in another place that in Luke 11:21,22 there is an allusion to Isaiah 53:12, "Therefore I will divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; . . ."

Jesus, in speaking of entering and overcoming the strong man and taking his possessions as booty, utters a thought similar to what is found in Isaiah 53:12. According to the Synoptic gospels, Jesus had the power to overcome Satan even in his earthly, physical ministry. This stands in contrast to Isaiah 53:12, where the servant is given a portion of the spoil of the strong as a result of his sacrifice of himself for the sins of others. It is not impossible that the early church could see in Jesus' words a reference to this passage; it is not impossible that this could have been cast back into the life of Christ in the mind of the church. However, since this saying seems to be an authentic utterance of Jesus, it is extremely doubtful that Christ was alluding to this passage of Scripture. It must be regarded therefore as improbable; similarity of thought would then be attributed to a common image derived from popular experience and belief.

Luke 23:34. This verse contains Jesus' words of intercession from the Cross, "And Jesus said, 'Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.'" In these words,

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[208]Dodd, op. cit., p. 93.

Nestle[209] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 53:12, ". . .he. . .made intercession for the transgressors." It should be remembered that, if an allusion is present to these words, it must be either to the Hebrew or a rendering different than the LXX, for the LXX does not have this meaning.

This verse is fraught with extremely serious textual difficulties. The difficulties are not internal: the prayer from the Cross is closely consonant with Jesus' teaching, such as Luke 6:28. Rather, the evidence is external. The Mss. witnesses are sharply divided: one strong group, headed by B, D, and the corrector of Aleph omits the sentence, the other group headed by A and the original text of Aleph includes it. Creed suggests that it is easier to account for its insertion than for its omission; this consideration seems to be true.[210] The verse should then be regarded as an early interpolation, one which was entirely in keeping with the spirit and teaching of Jesus.

If the verse was interpolated early into the text of Luke, it could be taken as evidence of meditation and reflection upon Isaiah 53:12. The major difficulty of this inference is that such reflection must either have been upon the Hebrew or upon a rendering other than the LXX. The Hebrew basis seems unlikely

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[209] Nestle, op. cit., p. 223.

[210] J. M. Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1953), p. 286 f. Creed conducts a good but brief discussion of the Mss. witnesses and the consideration pro and con.

among predominantly Gentile Christians, who made such extensive use elsewhere, even in Luke, of the LXX. A non-LXX rendering is negated by the citation in Luke 22:37 of the first portion of this verse according to the LXX, and the citation of Isaiah 53:7-8 according to the LXX in Acts 8:32-33. Perhaps the most likely conclusion is to regard the verse as a late second or early third century interpolation based upon the Hebrew of Isaiah 53:12.

On the other hand, if the verse be regarded as originally in the text of Luke, the considerations above make unlikely an allusion to Isaiah 53:12 by Luke. It may be that within the tradition such a reflection was present, but such a conclusion does not seem to be demonstrable.

Matthew 5:6; Luke 6:21. This is the familiar Beatitude, in Matthew, "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied," and in Luke, "Blessed are you that hunger now, for you shall be satisfied." Isaiah 55:1-2 has been seen behind this Beatitude.

This suggestion seems likely. Even though two of the four major terms in Matthew's version are found in the LXX of Isaiah 55:1, such correspondence does not constitute evidence, for certainly Jesus was reflecting not the Greek translation but the Hebrew text. Rather, the allusion rests upon the similarity of thought. Although the imagery of "hunger" and "thirst" is common in the wisdom literature of the O. T., representing spiritual

emptiness,[211] such symbolism is most vividly and lucidly employed in this section of Isaiah. Therefore, it is probable that Isaiah 55:1-2 stands behind this Beatitude.[212]

Both Burney[213] and Black[214] suggest that the Beatitude is the result of the compression of a longer utterance of Jesus. Burney, noting that the Beatitude has only two stresses, suggests that a word such as tab has dropped out. Noting the double reference -- "hunger" and "thirst" -- in the verse, Black suggests that a second couplet has been compressed into a single verse:

> Blessed are ye that hunger,
> For ye shall be filled,
> (Blessed are ye that thirst,
> For ye shall be sated.)

Black indicates that "the hunger and thirst were for the spiritual food and drink for which God's poor men longed is rightly brought out by Matthew's δικαιοσύνη. . . Δικαιοσύνηis certainly more than 'goodness' (Moffatt): it is the vindication of the cause of the afflicted saints, the fulfilment of Isa. lxi. 3, the acceptable year of the Lord."[215] The strong influence of Isaiah 61:1ff. has been and will be further noted, and this passage may, as Black

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[211] See James Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 642 f.

[212] So C. F. Burney, The Poetry of Our Lord, An Examination of the Formal Elements of Hebrew Poetry in the Discourses of Jesus Christ (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 167.

[213] Ibid.

[214] Black, op. cit., p. 259.

[215] Ibid.

indicates, lay behind this Beatitude. However, the meaning of the imagery, as Black presents it, fits exactly with Isaiah 55:1ff., and may be taken as a reflection of it.

Acts 17:27. In the phrase, "that they should seek God," Nestle[216] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 55:6. However, this thought is widespread in the O. T. and Nestle himself indicates Deuteronomy 4:29 and Psalm 145:18 in this place. Therefore, it seems unlikely that an allusion could be demonstrated in this passage, and that Isaiah 55:6 probably does not lie behind this verse.

Acts 12:24. This verse reads, "But the word of the Lord grew and multiplied." Behind the phrase ὁ...λόγος τοῦ κυρίου Nestle[217] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 55:11, "so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and prosper in the thing for which I sent it."

Involved in this suggested allusion is the motif of "word." We have already discussed this theme to some extent in the discussions concerning I Peter 1:24 and II Corinthians 9:10 above. Here we must return to this discussion, even though final conclusions must await the summary discussions at the end of this paper.

It has been suggested above that the "word of the Lord" in-

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[216] Nestle, op. cit., p. 354.

[217] Ibid., p. 336.

dicated primarily the "gospel" of the Lord Jesus Christ. However, only the Greek term ῥῆμα has entered into our consideration up to this point. In this passage in Acts the term λόγος receives its first attention. As one of its meanings of this term, the word λόγος, according to Arndt and Gingrich,[218] is used "of revelation by God," and especially "of the divine revelation through Christ and his messengers." Only a summary statement of the usage of this term is given, with no attempt being made to carry through a critical discussion of its various occurrences. Neither is this possible at this time; rather, an attempt will be made to study the usage of this phrase in Luke-Acts, in an attempt to derive some insight as to specific meaning and perhaps as to sources.

The term λόγος in Luke-Acts is almost always defined by a genetive, either stated or understood. At times it is extremely difficult to determine whether this genetive should be understood subjectively or objectively.[219] The two phrases, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου, may mean "the word which comes from God" or "the word concerning God" and "the word which comes

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[218] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 479.

[219] A "subjective genetive" indicates "the subject from which the action, etc., originates and is separated," whereas an "objective genetive" indicates "the object of the verb represented by the word which governs it," so C. F. D. Moule, op. cit., pp. 39-40. See also A Greek Grammar of the New Testament, a revision of F. Blass and A. Debrunner, Grammatik der Neutestamentlichen Griechisch, trans. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 89-90.

from the Lord" or "the word concerning the Lord," respectively. The difficulty of the latter is compounded by the ambiguity sometimes present in the title κύριος. Is the referent the "Lord (God)" or the "Lord (Jesus)"? Occasionally the context is decisive, but often it is not.

A study of the usage in Acts reveals that the most primitive usage seems to be the phrase ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. The phrase may be understood both subjectively and objectively. Subjectively, it is the word sent by God to Israel;[220] objectively, as the word concerning God's mighty acts in Jesus Christ. Although there are indications that this phrase is slightly favored by Luke, it occurs in the earliest stratum of Acts, and persists throughout most of the work. In Acts 4:29 the phrase clearly means "the word of the Lord God." Praying to God, the Sovereign Lord, the community says, "And now, Lord, look upon their threats, and grant to thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness." Here, certainly, "word" signifies the proclamation of Jesus the Messiah, in whom and through whom the Sovereign Lord was mightily at work, and to whom the early community was to "witness."[221] This, according to Luke, was the primary purpose of the twelve (6:2), the message of Paul in Antioch of Pisidia (13:46), and of Paul to the jailor and his house in Philippi (16:32). In the portions not attributed to any one, it is stated that this message, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, increased

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[220] See Luke 10:36

[221] This motif has been examined above.

(6:7; 12:24), was received in Samaria (8:14), accepted by Cornelius (11:1), proclaimed in Cyprus (13:5), requested by Sergius Paulus (13:7), caused excitement in Antioch of Pisidia (13:44), preached in Beroea (17:13) and Corinth (18:11).

On the other hand, the phrase "word of the Lord" has also left its imprint. Although nowhere can its precise meaning be discovered, it is not unlikely that it retained at least part, and perhaps all, of the above meaning, and that in addition it absorbed the meaning "the word of the Lord Jesus." Abundant evidence is present, in Acts and elsewhere, to support the early identification of Jesus with the "Lord." Once this insight was received -- and it makes its appearance in Acts in the second chapter -- the extension in meaning of the phrase "the word of the Lord" was almost inevitable. This is especially true once the knowledge of the scriptures among the Christians had lost its Hebrew basis. This phrase, ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου only appears in non-narrative material in the words attributed to Paul in 15:36. It is used of the preaching of Peter and John, as they returned to Jerusalem (8:25), even though "the word of God" appears in 8:14. The "word of the Lord" spread throughout all the region of Antioch of Pisidia (13:49), and was preached and taught by Paul, Barnabas, and many others back home in Antioch (15:35). Later in Ephesus, Paul made known "the word of the Lord" (19:10). It would seem that this phrase retained its meaning and grew in importance, for in 6:7, 12:24, 13:5,44, and

16:32 variant readings are present to that effect.[222]

In fifteen instances, λόγος stands without an expressed genetive. In Acts 10:36,44 and 17:11 the genetive is probably intended to be τοῦ θεοῦ, whereas in 2:47, 8:4, 14:25, 16:6, and 18:5, it may be either. Only in 13:48, as suggested above, is there more than a subtle suggestion that the phrase has the subjective meaning, "the word of the Lord Jesus." In 13:26 the proclamation is "the word of salvation," in 14:3 and 20:32 "the word of his grace," and in 15:7 the "word of the gospel."

It may be concluded therefore that λόγος in this usage meant primarily "the word of God," that is, the proclamation commanded by God concerning His mighty acts in the life, death, resurrection and exaltation of Jesus, Lord and Christ, and the effects of that action. Gradually the title κύριος, meaning the Lord (God) and the Lord (Jesus), exerted its influence, and the phrase "word of the Lord" was accepted. This conclusion receives added support from Luke's terminology in his Gospel. He refers to the teachers and preachers who preceded him as "ministers of the word (τοῦ λόγου)."[223] Elsewhere his terminology reflects the significance of the terms ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίουin Acts. People pressed upon Jesus "to hear the word of God (τὸν λόγον τοῦ

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[222]Codex Bezae has an extremely free variant in 13:44, which seems to indicate dissatisfaction with both ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου.

[223]Luke 1:2

θεοῦ)."[224] The importance is impressed upon Luke's hearers of hearing the "word of the Lord," through the story of Mary, who "sat at the feet of the Lord (τοῦ κυρίου) and heard his word (τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ)."[225] Those who hear and do the "word of God (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ)" are the Lord's mother and brothers,[226] and neither the womb that bore him nor the breasts that let him suck, but those who "hear and keep the word of God (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ)" are blessed.[227] The amazement of those who first heard the kerygma is reflected in the response to his teaching, "What is this word (τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος)?"[228] Likewise, the firmness of the proclamation is mirrored in the response to his teaching in Capernaum, "and they were astonished, for his word was with authority (ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ)."[229] In explaining the parable of the sower, Jesus says, "The seed (ὁ σπόρος) is the word of God (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ)," to which I Peter 1:23 is closely similar.[230] Significantly, in every one of these passages no parallel exists to Luke's words! Whereas Matthew and Mark use the participle or principal verb, Luke uses the nominal form, and in no instance does Matthew and Mark use the

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[224] 5:1

[225] 10:39

[226] 8:21

[227] 11:28

[228] 4:36

[229] 4:32

[230] The appearance of the term σπόρος in both passages is striking. I Peter may have been dependent upon this or a similar passage, but it is evident that not only the teachings but the whole kerygma concerning Jesus was "the word of God."

genetive τοῦ θεοῦ.[231] The conclusion is inescapable that the terminology found in Acts is reflected as well in the Gospel narrative. The λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is the revelation given through the life and teachings of Jesus, but especially and even primarily through his death, resurrection, and exaltation, and the salvation made possible by these mighty acts of God. It is also the message sent by God, through Jesus and through his disciples. The λόγος τοῦ κυρίου comprehends this meaning, but it also indicates that the message is about one who has become Lord of all. As such, he gives his own commands, he sends forth his own "word." This last element is only intimated by Acts 13:48 and the language of Luke 4:22. It does not receive its full expression in Luke-Acts.[232]

Is there then an allusion in these verses to Isaiah 55:11? The answer is extremely uncertain, and must probably be in the negative. Why then, if this passage is reflected elsewhere in the New Testament, is it not here? Perhaps due to the relative primitive character of the material. The question of Jesus as "Lord" is not at issue; that identification had certainly been made, and is present in the Acts. But the implications of that identification have not been worked out. Perhaps also Luke seeks to reproduce the earliest form of the kerygma, and this too plays its part.

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[231] Only in Matthew 15:6 and Mark 7:13 is this genetive used, and there to clearly signify a specific commandment of God.

[232] This subject is to be taken up again with reference to Paul and the Gospel of John at another place.

Acts 8:27. Nestle[233] suggests that in the story of Phillip and the Ethiopian eunuch there is a reflection of the gathering of eunuchs and foreigners in Isaiah 56:3-7. This is highly unlikely if the episode be regarded as an actual occurrence, for the eunuch was returning, not going to, the temple to worship. If, on the other hand, the episode is considered a visionary experience, there is a slim possibility that this passage in Isaiah is reflected in this episode. Since Jesus cited Isaiah 56:7, we may be quite sure that the passage was thoroughly known by the early Christians. After long study and reflection, it is possible that this element of Isaiah 56:3-7 would reappear in the visionary experience of a seer. There is no way to demonstrate this, and the allusion must be considered highly unlikely.

Matthew 5:3; Luke 6:20. In this Beatitude concerning the "poor," Nestle[234] sees a possible allusion to 57:15,

> For thus says the high and lofty One
> who inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy;
> 'I dwell in the high and holy place,
> and also with him who is of a contrite and humble spirit,
> to revive the spirit of the humble,
> and to revive the heart of the contrite.'

Although Isaiah 61:1 most probably lies behind this Beatitude, this passage also may have gone into its making. Muilenburg[235] presents a lucid exegesis of the meaning of this passage, a meaning which is entirely in keeping with the Beatitude. In fact, the

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[233]Nestle, op. cit., p. 322. [234]Ibid., pp. 8, 160.

[235]Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 671-672.

promise of God's presence with the poor is close to the promise of the "kingdom of God," and the Matthean reading "in spirit" comes even closer to the Isaianic text. With Isaiah 57:15 should also be considered Isaiah 66:1-2, 5, which is another expression of this conviction. Although the same insight into God's concern for the "poor" is present elsewhere in the O. T., especially in some of the Psalms, the usage of Isaiah 61:1 and its relationship to some of the other Beatitudes makes this allusion likely.

Luke 2:14. In the word "peace" in this verse Nestle[236] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 57:19, "Peace, peace, to the far and to the near, says the Lord. ..." Although this verse in Isaiah is cited in Ephesians 2:13-17, it did not play the central role in the development of the motif of "peace." This motif has been extensively discussed above. We have seen that it connoted "salvation" and "wholeness," and was closely related with the gospel proclamation. It seems best to regard this verse, therefore, as a reflection of this common Christian tradition, rather than as a reflection of a particular verse in Isaiah.

Acts 2:39. Nestle[237] takes the phrase "to you and your children and to all that are far off" to be a possible allusion to Isaiah 57:19. Since this verse is quoted in Ephesians, as noted above, it is entirely possible that it was part of the early tradition of the church. This is difficult to demonstrate,

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[236] Nestle, op. cit., p. 144.

[237] Ibid., p. 303.

not only because of the paucity of evidence but also because of the difficulty in separating early tradition from later elaboration. It is worth noting that the same note of bringing persons from afar occurs in Isaiah 49:12, which was definitely a part of the earliest text-material of the church.

Acts 8:23. This verse is the very last portion of Peter's reply to Simon the magician of Samaria, when he wanted to purchase the power of the Spirit with money. Peter said, in part, ". . . you have neither part nor lot in this matter, for your heart is not right before God. Repent therefore of this wickedness of yours, and pray to the Lord that, if possible, the intent of your heart may be forgiven you. For I see that you are in the 'gall of bitterness [Deut. 29:18]' and in 'the bond of iniquity (σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας).'"[238] In the last phrase, both Nestle[239] and Dodd[240] see a reflection of Isaiah 58:6, "Is this not the fast that I choose: to loose the bonds of wickedness (LXX: σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας), to undo the thongs of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free."

At first glance, it may be suggested that the phrase may either be regarded as traditional terminology, shared by both Jews and Christians, or as a linguistic coincidence, or a common proverb. However, several considerations suggest that this is

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[238] Acts 8:21-23

[239] Nestle, op. cit., p. 322.

[240] Dodd, op. cit., p. 52, n. 1.

an important allusion, although brief. First, Deut. 29:18 is also used in Hebrews 12:15; the pairing of these two phrases, each characterizing resistance to obedience, suggests that perhaps both played their part in the terminology of the early preaching and teaching. Secondly, and most importantly, the phrase fits neatly into the motif of bondage and redemption which we have already noted. We can be quite certain that this passage received study in the early church, for, according to Luke, Jesus quoted the phrase "to let the oppressed go free" in his sermon at Nazareth. Therefore, it is probable that in the proclamation of the great redemption in Christ Jesus, this phrase would serve to denote the slavery from which those who repent and receive forgiveness are freed. Linguistically, the phrase is appropriate. The term ἀδικίας is the direct opposite of that trait in Jesus which led them to call him ὁ δίκαιος. The term σύνδεσμος is related to the verb συνδέω, which can mean simply "to bind, to imprison";[241] the term itself is used elsewhere in a positive sense concerning that which binds the church together.[242] It seems likely that the term was used to indicate the bondage of iniquity from which the Christians were ransomed by the death of Christ.

Matthew 25:35. This verse constitutes an integral part of the great vision of the judgment; in it the Son of man is

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[241] So Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 793.

[242] Col. 3:14; Eph. 4:3.

identified with "the least of these." Nestle[243] suggests a possible relationship with Isaiah 58:7, and Dodd[244] remarks that it is similar in purport, if not in language, to this verse in Isaiah.

It would seem that no definitive statement may be made concerning whether or not this is actually an allusion. On the one hand, a portion from the preceding verse is quoted by Jesus, according to Luke, in his text of his sermon in Nazareth. In addition, elsewhere he displays the concern and identification with the poor and needy that is present in this passage. This passage, along with others from Isaiah and other OT books, may have gone into his thinking. On the other hand, no linguistic parallels are present, and both the framework and imagery is dissimilar in the two passages. On balance, the suggestion may be regarded as possible, but not necessarily true.

Luke 1:78; 9:32. Luke 1:78 is from the song of Zechariah, "through the tender mercies of our God, when the day shall dawn upon us from on high, . . .", the last portion of which is regarded by Nestle[245] as a possible allusion of Isaiah 60:1,2, "Arise, shine; for your light has come, and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you. . . .the Lord will arise upon you, and his glory will be seen upon you." The same two verses from Isaiah are also thought by Nestle[246] to be reflected in the uniquely Lukan statement that the two disciples on the Mount of

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[243]Nestle, op. cit., p. 71. [244]Dodd, op. cit., p. 52, n. 1.

[245]Nestle, op. cit., p. 143. [246]Ibid., p. 174.

Transfiguration -- with reference to Jesus -- "saw his glory" (εἶδαν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ).

Both suggestions are possible, but the first seems unlikely. On the one hand, Isaiah 60:1f. immediately follows a portion of Scripture which was undoubtedly of great importance within certain circles of the early church: Isaiah 59:17-21. Also, the imagery of 60:1f. could lend itself to usage such as we see it in Luke 1:79. On the other hand, several factors weigh heavily against the allusion. The imagery may be attributed, not to this or any specific passage, but to the presence of "light" and "darkness" as semi-technical terms in the religious vocabulary of the day. In addition, the context in Luke is definitely messianic, whereas in Isaiah the context is concerned with the presence of Yahweh and his favor. Even more important is the motif which the application of Isaiah 60:1f. would imply: that of Jesus as "Lord." Although Luke certainly knew and accepted this identification, the material found in his birth narrative seems to be exclusively concerned with Jesus as the "Christ," the Messiah. It is unlikely that the motif of "Lord" would lie behind this material, and for these reasons the allusion to Isaiah 60:1f. in Luke 1:78 is extremely unlikely.

The second suggestion has much more that may commend it. Even though Luke 9:32 appears in a passage which, as has been suggested, was originally associated with the Messiah, it has undergone some re-writing at least by Luke, and in the course of such re-writing Luke often brings in his own insights,

especially the motif of "Lord." Though it cannot without doubt be demonstrated that an allusion is present in this verse, it is likely. Other passages may be present also in the background of this verse, especially Isaiah 40:5a. In the discussion of the citation of Isaiah 40:3-5 in Luke 3:4-5, it was noted that this phrase was omitted by Luke in this citation, and the question concerning the reason was raised. Is it possible that Luke intended to indicate that the "glory" of the Lord Jesus was not perceived until after his resurrection, a fact that he proleptically inferred in this pericope? Whatever the answer may be, it is probable that not only Isaiah 61:1-2 but also 40:5a is reflected in this verse. In assessing the validity of this suggestion, it is important to observe that Luke -- but neither Matthew nor Mark -- states that the two disciples "saw his glory." The Fourth Gospel, as we shall see, agrees with Luke in this matter.

Matthew 2:11. The magi brought "gold, frankincense, and myrrh." In "gold" and "frankincense" Nestle[247] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 60:6, "they shall bring gold and frankincense and shall proclaim the praise of the Lord."

Although all arguments fall short of proof, it is unlikely that this constitutes an allusion. In favor, it may be said that the two gifts "gold" and "frankincense" are taken from Isaiah. "Myrrh" may be said to be an interpretative addition, which fore-

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[247]Nestle, ibid., p. 4.

shadows the death of Jesus.[248] Against, the gifts may be considered symbols of royalty and honor, rather than the influence of the Isaianic passage. The bringing of gifts to a king was an accepted practice,[249] and this practice may have been skillfully applied to the birth of Christ independent of this portion of Isaiah. The significance of the imagery of the "star," the conversations between Herod, the wise men, and the scribes, the note of "falling down" and of "worship," all suggest the emphasis on the royalty of the new child -- the Messiah, and the extended nature of the story indicates long interpretation.

Matthew 11:5 // Luke 7:22; Matthew 5:3-6, 12; Luke 6:20,21,23. This group of verses, though composed of individual allusions, all arise from a common source: Isaiah 61:1-3. They constitute an extremely important grouping, and they will be dealt with here in a brief but important discussion. Matthew 11:5 and Luke 7:22 are parallels, and relate the answer of Jesus to the questions of the emissaries of John the Baptist. They ask, "are you he who is to come or shall we look for another?" Jesus answers, almost as a quotation, with the words of Isaiah 61:1,2. These words are certainly to be regarded as authentic words of

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[248] See John 19:39

[249] Sherman E. Johnson, in his exegesis on Matthew, indicates one such event, when an embassy of Parthian magi paid homage to Nero at Naples in A. D. 66 and returned home by another route. See "The Gospel According to St. Matthew (Introduction and Exegesis)" in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951), VII, p. 257.

our Lord; as such they are of great importance for an understanding on our part of his concept of his own ministry. According to Luke, Jesus cites these words in his sermon at Nazareth, as we have discussed above; although some doubts have been expressed concerning the authenticity of this text, it has been suggested above that the passage is trustworthy.

Matthew Black, with good reasons, suggests that Isaiah 61 seems to be the inspiration of the Beatitudes, and questions whether they were not originally uttered on the occasion of the reply to the Baptist. He points to the conclusion, "and blessed is he who takes no offense at me," and indicates that this would have made a fitting conclusion to the Beatitudes themselves.[250] Whether or not this is true, it seems quite certain that Isaiah 61:1-3 lies behind all of the Lukan and at least five of the Matthean Beatitudes. Let us examine these more closely.

The phrase, "to bring good tidings to the poor" of Isaiah 61:1c seems to be reflected in Matthew 5:3 and Luke 6:20.[251] Matthew rightly interprets the nature of this "poverty" with his phrase "in spirit,"[252] for the meaning intended is not only material need but complete material and spiritual dependence upon

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[250]Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, op. cit., pp. 259-60.

[251]Black, ibid., p. 258, cites and concurs with Zahn in this view; also Nestle, op. cit., pp. 8, 160.

[252]Black, op. cit., p. 159.

God.[253] Matthew 5:5, his third Beatitude, according to Black forms a couplet with 5:3, and, although it is an adaptation of Psalm 37:11, it is not necessarily the work of Matthew but also a reflection of Isaiah 61:1c.[254] The Beatitude for those who "mourn (Mtt. 5:4)" or "weep (Luke 6:21b)" is considered as an allusion to Isaiah 61:2c,3.[255] The phrase in Isaiah 61:2, "to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord," is reflected, according to Black, in Matthew 5:6 and Luke 6:21, concerning "hunger." He suggests that the Beatitude in Matthew may represent a compression of two Beatitudes; he also indicates that Matthew's phrase "for righteousness" is also a felicitous and correct interpretation.[256] We have noted above that Isaiah 55:1ff. may also be reflected in this Beatitude. Black finds an unnoticed Aramaism in the verbs of Matthew 5:12 (// Luke 6:23), and sees the same note of exultation in these verses as found in Isaiah 61:3.[257] Black even sees in Matthew's sixth Beatitude concerning the "pure in heart" a possible misreading of the Aramaic which

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[253] Cf. Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 735.

[254] Black, op. cit., p. 258; C. F. Burney, The Poetry of Our Lord, op. cit., p. 167.

[255] Black, op. cit., p. 259; Nestle, op. cit., pp. 9, 160.

[256] Black, loc. cit.

[257] Ibid.

would reflect 61:1d.[258] In these suggestions, there seems to be a great deal of truth.

Therefore, it may be said that Isaiah 61:1-3 was utilized by Jesus on at least three occasions; it therefore constitutes one of the most significant sources of the OT Scriptures.

Matthew 21:5. After Matthew relates how Jesus sent two of his disciples to fetch an ass and a colt in order that he might make the entry into Jerusalem, Matthew says, "This took place to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet, saying, 'Tell the daughter of Zion, Behold, your king is coming to you, humble, and mounted on an ass, and on a colt, the foal of an ass.'" Most of the citation is clearly from Zechariah 9:9, but in the phrase "Tell the daughter of Zion" an allusion to Isaiah 62:11 has been seen.[259]

Several considerations suggest that this allusion is not present. On the one hand, the phrase in the NT is identical with the phrase in Isaiah 61:11 in the LXX. On the other hand, this fact is not decisive. Matthew's citation is not only a

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[258] Ibid., n. 2: "The rendering of καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ into Aramaic gives דכי לב an expression which comes very near, so far as consonants go, to an Aramaic equivalent of Isaiah's nishbere lebh (דכי לב?), the 'broken-hearted' (cf. Ps. xxxiv. 19). Was it the 'contrite' who were to 'see God'?" Black's conjecture is interesting and has much to commend it. Cf. also Isaiah 57:15, 66:2,5.

[259] Nestle, op. cit., p. 55; C. C. Torrey, Documents of the Primitive Church (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1941), pp. 73-74, who maintains that Matthew's reading is based on the Hebrew of Isaiah 62:11.

selective quotation from Zechariah, but one which varies in the rendering of several terms. The phrase "daughter of Zion" is present in the text of Zechariah, preceded by the imperative, "rejoice exceedingly." It would not be entirely unlikely, however, that Matthew's text represents an interpretative rendering of the Hebrew. The citation formula is also to be considered. Matthew specifically says "spoken by the prophet," singular. Nowhere in Matthew -- unlike Mark -- is a composite quotation attributed to one source. In addition, the interpretative element indicated above receives some credulity from the fulfillment formula. The allusion should probably be regarded as a linguistic coincidence, rather than a valid allusion.

In some circles within the early church the phrase may have become more closely identified with Isaiah 62:11. The motif of the "heavenly Jerusalem" has been noted; this motif was supported heavily by texts drawn from Isaiah 62 and subsequent chapters. Especially Isaiah 62:12 is entirely compatible with this motif and its connotations. Undoubtedly the phrase was associated with Isaiah 62:11, and the context of 62:11 influenced the meaning of Matthew 21:5, so that the episode related by Matthew acquires a deeper overtone than in its original meaning. However, with regard to Matthew it is very doubtful that Isaiah 62:11 was in mind.

Matthew 5:34,35. Jesus said, "But I say to you, Do not swear at all, either by heaven, for it is the throne of God, or by the earth, for it is his footstool, or by Jerusalem, for it is

the city of the great King." Although the imagery appears in several different places in the OT, this verse is clearly an allusion to Isaiah 66:1.[260] As such, it assumes some importance.

Stephen, in his speech before the Sanhedrin, cited the same verses in opposition to the Temple. In Isaiah, the passage constitutes a rejection of Haggai's appeal and false hopes concerning the rebuilt Temple, but not of the Temple itself. As James Muilenburg indicates, "He does not reject all temples made with human hands, as in Stephen's polemic (Acts 7:49-50), nor does he proclaim a religion of the spirit, as in John 4:24, but he moves in this direction."[261] With whom does Jesus stand? It is clear that he stands closest to the Isaianic passage. On the one hand, he is unsparing in his condemnation of abuse in the Temple.[262] On the other, he regarded it with reverence and participated in its worship.[263] It may well be that he foresaw its destruction because of its abuse, but in the Synoptics we have no indication that he was willing to dispense with it entirely. It may be expected that the emphasis on non-Temple

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[260] Nestle, op. cit., p. 11; James Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 760.

[261] James Muilenburg, ibid. A compact and incisive discussion of these verses is found in this work, pp. 757-761. In his view of the dating and purpose of these verses, Muilenburg accepts the position, which he cites, of James Smart, "A New Interpretation of Isaiah lxvi, 1-6," Expository Times, XLVI 1934-34 , pp. 420-24.

[262] See the discussion of Mark 11:17 and parallels above.

[263] E.g., see Matthew 23:21.

worship would increase in the early church, and this is precisely what we find. The spread of the Christian faith among the Gentiles, the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the close relationship of the Risen Lord to the Christian groups would quickly replace the centrality of Temple-worship, a shift which may be seen in Stephen's speech, John's Gospel, and elsewhere.[264] This insight is of importance in that it furthers our understanding of the preaching and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.

The Johannine Literature

Under this heading, the possible allusions in the Gospel of John, and in the I, II, and III Letters of John will be considered. The authorship of the Gospel and the Epistles will not be discussed, since the matter is somewhat irrelevant for our purposes. It is maintained that enough common material and thought is present in all of these writings to either constitute the work of one man, or of one man and his immediate followers.

It is assumed that the Gospel of John reflects considerable reflection and study, and a fully developed tradition. The same might be said with respect to the other Gospels, but with one important distinction. Whereas the Synoptics maintain a

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[264]Interestingly, in the Apocalypse, at present God's temple is in heaven (3:12, 7:15, 11:1,2,19, 14:15,17, 15:5,6,8, 16:1,17); yet when the new Jerusalem comes down out of heaven, there is no temple, for the Lord God and the Lamb is present (21:22).

varying amount of accurate historical development, the author of the Gospel of John does not hesitate to interpret the pre-Resurrection events in terms of post-Resurrection experiences. This is not to say that the Gospel of John does not contain material which in some cases is early and authentic. Such material -- in some cases closer to the Palestinian matrix than the Synoptic counterpart -- is certainly present. Nevertheless, in the Gospel of John the Jesus of history and the Jesus of faith are fused into one and react one against the other.

If these assumptions are valid, the Gospel of John may be expected to reflect the theology of the early church. Such to a lesser degree is also true of the Synoptics, as we have seen above. In John, we might expect the reflection to be with greater intensity. The Fourth Gospel has only two direct citations from Second Isaiah; both are of great importance, however, in that Gospel, the one coming at the beginning and the other coming at the close of the public ministry of Jesus. What allusions are to be found in the Johannine writings to Second Isaiah? What is their importance? These questions we shall now seek to answer.

John 1:14, 11:40. The first verse reads, "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory (τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ), glory as of the only Son from the Father." In this verse, Nestle[265] sees an allusion both

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[265]Nestle, op. cit., p. 230.

to Isaiah 40:5, "and the glory of the Lord (LXX: ἡ δόξα κυρίου) shall be revealed," and to Isaiah 60:1,2, "Arise, shine; for your light is come, and the glory of the Lord (LXX: ἡ δόξα κυρίου) has risen upon you. For behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and thick darkness the peoples; but the Lord will arise upon you, and his glory (LXX: ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ) will be seen upon you." In John 11:40, Dodd[266] sees an allusion to Isaiah 40:5.

To assess these suggestions, it is necessary again briefly to indicate the significance of "glory" in the OT. Although the Greek δόξα is occasionally used to render the Hebrew תִּפְאֶרֶת,[267] it very frequently renders the Hebrew כָּבוֹד.[268] These two Hebrew words "in particular are terms frequently used of the soul of Yahweh, as it manifests itself and acts among mankind."[269] The Hebrew כָּבוֹד originally was used to indicate the heavy substance of the soul, and was most particularly used about wealth,[270] important because of its "strength."[271] It was closely related to the "name."[272]

> Like any other soul, the soul of Yahweh has its honour, identical with its content, which fills it, gives it weight, and constitutes the basis of its claims. Yahweh's honour, his kabhodh, is determined by his power and activity. Yahweh himself and his sanctuary are Israel's glory . . .

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[266] Dodd, op. cit., pp. 40,84. [267] E.g., Prov. 20:29

[268] G. Abbott-Smith, op. cit., p. 121.

[269] Johannes Pedersen, Israel, Its Life and Culture, I-II (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1926), p. 239.

[270] Ibid., p. 228. [271] Ibid., p. 230.

[272] Ibid., p. 246.

> Conversely, the people is Yahweh's glory, because he has created it himself and called it by his name (Isa. 43,7). All his ways, his mishpat, constitute his glory, most of all the exploits he performs for the benefit of his people as its mighty king. Other peoples see his deeds and recognise the greatness of his kabhodh, his glory and his name are feared in the east and in the west; his glory is exalted above all nations and above the heavens, because all the fullness of the earth enters into it.
>
> Yahweh has acquired for himself this great glory as the God of his people. But it is due to the circumstance that he has defeated all other gods, and in the end to the circumstance that none other is God. "I am Yahweh, that is my name, and my glory I give not to another" (Isa. 42,8; 48,11). This unique glory Yahweh possesses as the maker of heaven and earth, . . .therefore the heavens declare his glory, which is raised above all time, for he can forever rejoice in his works (Ps. 19,2; 104,31).[273]

Since holiness was considered the substance of Yahweh's soul, he sanctifies himself in his honour. "The Israelites may contribute to this increase of Yahweh's honour and holiness . . . by subordinating themselves entirely to his will and thus acknowledging his greatness, . . . And those who honour Yahweh are honoured by him, just as he sanctifies those who sanctify him . . ."[274] Thus, the כָּבוֹד of Yahweh signified his power and presence in his mighty acts, past, present, and future; included in this power and presence was his unutterable holiness. In latter Judaism, "the glory" (ἡ δόξα) "came to be an expression for the revealed presence of the transcendent God as immanent in the world."[275] Among the Rabbis,

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[273] Pedersen, ibid., III-IV (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1940), pp. 615-6.

[274] Ibid., pp. 629-30.

[275] C. H. Dodd, The Bible and The Greeks (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), p. 217, n. 1.

the term shekinah carries the same emphasis.[276]

Second Isaiah is saturated with this terminology. Several of the most important occurrences will here be noted. At the very heart of Second Isaiah's prophecy is that of the final and full appearance of the "glory": "the glory of the Lord (MT:יְהוָה כְּבוֹד) shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together (40:5ab)." "This is not merely another theophany which belongs to a series of divine appearances in the O. T. It is final and decisive, universal and all-inclusive. It 'fills' time and space. It is a world theophany and comes at the turn of the ages as the fulfillment of the divine purpose in history. In Isaiah's vision the seraphs cover their faces before the kabhodh; in this appearing all flesh shall see it. Of all the superlatives which crowd the poems of Second Isaiah, this is the greatest and the most momentous."[277] In Isaiah 42:8, following "I am the Lord, that is my name," it is said, "my glory I give to no other," the same phrase which occurs in Isaiah 48:11. "The Lord . . . will be glorified in Israel,"[278] and "in the Lord all the offspring of Israel shall triumph and glory."[279] In Isaiah 58:8, "the glory of the Lord" is promised as the "rear guard" of those who help the oppressed. Also, of extreme importance is Isaiah

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[276] L. H. Brockington, "Presence," in A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. by Alan Richardson (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1958), p. 176.

[277] James Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 428-9.

[278] 44:23

[279] 45:25

66:18-20, which we will have occasion to discuss further below, in which "the glory" provides the focus around which the verses are grouped. The verses read,

> For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, and I will set a sign among them. And from them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud, who draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands afar off, that have not heard my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations.

Almost without exception, every one of these verses occur in sections of which the early church made extensive use in its interpretation.

The term δόξα forms a major motif in the Gospel of John, one which is of great importance, and one which is invariably related to the person of the Lord Jesus. John's usage conveys the full range of meaning of כָּבוֹד in both the OT and latter Jewish usage. Moreover, John's usage displays close affinities to these significant passages in II Isaiah. John 1:14 reads, καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός. In this occurrence the immanence of Yahweh is stressed; this is clearly indicated not only by "only Son" and 1:18, but by the term ἐσκήνωσεν, which renders the root שכן. Although this verse, specifically the word "beheld," might reflect either Isaiah 40:5, 60:1,2, 66:18-20, or all of them, it is likely that it especially alludes to 40:5, as the word σὰρξ (// LXX: σὰρξ; MT:בָּשָׂר) would suggest. John clearly declares that in the incarnation of the Word the "glory of the Lord" is revealed. The ultimate and final nature of this revelation is assumed, when it is considered

that the revelation was not that of a prophet only, but of the Son of God, who though pre-existent became flesh. Although the "glory" is related intrinsically to obedience to God, and especially to the words of His Son,[280] the Son did not receive this "glory" strictly as a result of his obedience; rather, this was his "before the world was made."[281] "Father, I desire that they . . . may . . .behold my glory which thou hast given me in thy love for me before the foundation of the world."[282] To be sure, through the Son, the Father's name is glorified,[283] and in his own, the Son is glorified.[284] The exaltation on the Cross signifies not the first bestowal of "glory," but the Lord's re-entry into it. It is not improbable that behind this insight of the exercise and increase of the "glory of the Lord" stands Isaiah 44:23. That the "glory" revealed in the Word is that of the Father and the Son, and is made manifest in the "signs" wrought by Jesus, is clear from John 2:11 and 12:41.[285] In these verses, the emphasis is not on the presence but upon the power of the Lord.

In the light of these various observations, Isaiah 42:8 seems

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[280] John 5:41,44, 7:18, 8:50,54. The contrast between seeking the "glory of God" and the "glory of men" is explicit in 12:43. Is it not ironic--perhaps intentionally so--that the "man born blind" whom Jesus healed is condemned for not "giving glory to God," by the council, when, from John's viewpoint, this is precisely what he was doing?

[281] 17:5

[282] 17:24

[283] 12:27

[284] 17:10

[285] The significance of the Johannine "signs" has been explored above in the discussion of John 12:38 (///Isaiah 53:1).

to be of special importance. Although the portion is not cited in John, it is almost certain that it lies behind his Gospel. It has been concluded above that in Philippians 2:10 this verse is clearly present: that the name bestowed upon Jesus the exalted one is that of "Lord." This identification seems clearly to form part of the foundation for Johannine thought, only with John the name of "Lord" is not one which was bestowed upon the exalted Jesus, but the name which he possessed before his incarnation. In fact, for John it was not the Lord God who was speaking in II Isaiah, but the pre-existent One who became flesh. This seems to be a bold inference, but John himself says as much. After quoting Isaiah 53:1 and Isaiah 6:10 in chapter 12, John says, "Isaiah said this because he saw his glory (ὅτι εἶδεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ) and spoke of him (καὶ ἐλάλησεν περὶ αὐτοῦ)."[286] The antecedent for these third person singular pronouns can only be Jesus, in John 12:36. John has quoted from the oracle which follows Isaiah's vision, and in this comment he is referring to it. Isaiah says, "In the year that King Uzziah died I saw (LXX: εἶδον) the Lord (LXX: τὸν κύριον; MT: אֲדֹנָי) sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train (LXX: "his glory", τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ!) filled the temple."[287] John's words "he (Isaiah) saw his glory" refers clearly to the LXX reading, but the title "Lord"--as distinct from "God"--may be derived either from the Greek or the Hebrew. For John, Isaiah saw not Yahweh, but the pre-existent

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[286] John 12:41

[287] Isaiah 6:1

Lord, the Word that became flesh. This fact is difficult to accept, with our critical orientation, and it apparently was of some difficulty in the early church.[288] The same tendency may be noted elsewhere, especially in Hebrews.[289]

In summary, it may be said that John conveys the full meaning of the term "glory," both in its Greek and Hebrew forms, always with reference to God the Father and Jesus the only Son, whom he regarded as the "Lord" whom Isaiah saw, and of whom Isaiah spoke. It is likely, therefore, that such crucial passages as Isaiah 40:5, 60:1,2, and 66:18-20, as well as others, were regarded by John as either the utterance of or the oracles concerning the pre-existent One who became flesh in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. This conclusion is supported not only by the development of thought already observed elsewhere in the New Testament, but by the intensive usage in the early church of the sections in which these passages are found.

John 12:15. John, like Matthew, quotes Zechariah 9:9 with regard to the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. Whereas Zechariah prefaces the words concerning the coming of the King with "Cry aloud! Daughter of Zion," and Matthew "Say to the daughter of Zion," John has "Fear not, daughter of Zion." In this phrase,

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[288] As indicated by the variant readings: $\theta \phi$ 1 sa read του θεου; D reads τ. θ. αυτου. Both are apparently attempts to clarify a difficult statement. Neither are to be accepted, since their acceptance seems easier than the standard text.

[289] E.g., Hebrews 11:26

"fear not," Nestle[290] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 40:9.

It seems impossible to prove this allusion. On the one hand, the exhortation "fear not" is characteristic of II Isaiah, and it does occur in 40:9 in the portion dealing with the coming of the Lord God to Jerusalem, in the final epiphany. Therefore, it would be appropriate from John's standpoint for the coming of the Lord (Jesus) to Jerusalem, and this appropriateness may have influenced this reading. On the other hand, Matthew's reading, Zechariah's text, and John's reading together suggest that the textual tradition in the words of address--as well as within the body of the citation--was fluid, and John may be doing nothing more than citing the source which he had at hand.

John 10:11. In the figure of Christ as "the good Shepherd," Nestle[291] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 40:11, which speaks of the Lord God coming with might and as a shepherd. However, the figure of the Lord as Shepherd is prevalent in the OT, and it seems virtually certain that this figure, if rooted in the OT, is derived chiefly from Ezekiel 34:1-24, with which it has a number of agreements. Dodd, though he thinks an allusion may be present, recognizes its dependence upon Ezekiel 34.[292]

John 1:4, 8:12. Here again we must of necessity consider one of John's themes. The theme itself appears in more verses than these two, and all of the occurrences will be dealt with;

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[290]Nestle, op. cit., p. 270. [291]Ibid., p. 263.

[292]Dodd, op. cit., p. 84.

nevertheless, in these verses allusions to Isaiah 42:7, 49:6, and 60:1,2,3 have been seen.[293]

This motif deals with the figure of "light" (τὸ φῶς) and "darkness" (ἡ σκότος). In the OT, "light" and "darkness," when used figuratively, signified prosperity and happiness or adversity and sorrow, respectively.[294] Seldom does "darkness" mean "wickedness," and the usage of "light" as moral goodness is hardly to be found.[295] In the intertestamental period, perhaps as the result of non-Hebraic influences, a marked shift in meaning is evident: "light" no longer signifies primarily prosperity, but goodness, and darkness was the realm of evil. "Light" is one of the chief characteristics of the divine.[296] In a number of NT passages this antithesis between "goodness" and "evil," "light" and "darkness," is present.[297] This antithesis is clearly present in the Gospel of John and the Epistles, as Bultmann clearly indicates.[298] However, the Dead Sea Scrolls show that such terminology is due, not to Gnostic influence, but

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[293]Nestle, op. cit., pp. p. 256; C. E. Luthardt, St. John's Gospel Described and Explained According to Its Peculiar Character, trans. by Caspar Rene Gregory, Vol. I in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, New Series, Vol. LII (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1876), p. 59.

[294]Esther 8:16, Amos 5:20, Isa. 45:6,7

[295]So J. Y. Campbell, "Light, Darkness" in A Theological Word Book of the Bible, op. cit., p. 129.

[296]Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., pp. 879-80.

[297]Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, op. cit.,

[298]Bultmann, loc. cit.

to the Palestinian milieu.[299]

What relationship does the Johannine terminology have to the OT, and especially II Isaiah? It may be said almost summarily that Isaiah 42:7 and 49:6 are not reflected, as far as we can tell, in this usage. These passages, occurring in sections dealing with the servant, do not seem appropriate in dealing with the Word made flesh. Isaiah 9:1, cited in Matthew, would have great meaning, though certainly more appropriate in Matthew's context than in John's. As we shall see, Genesis 1 lies behind this usage, either directly or indirectly. Most probably the passage of greatest importance, if one is to be found, is Isaiah 60:1-3. In the LXX, the passage reads,

> Shine, shine (φωτίζου φωτίζου), Jerusalem,
> for your light (σου τὸ φῶς) is come (ἦκει),
> and the glory (ἡ δόξα) of the Lord (κυρίου)
> has risen upon you.
> Behold, darkness (σκότος) and deep darkness
> shall cover the earth (γήν) upon the nations (ἐπ' ἔθνη);
> But the Lord will shine (φανήσεται κύριος) upon you,
> and his glory (ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ) shall be seen upon you.
> And kings shall come to your light (τῷ φωτί σου)
> and nations (ἔθνη) to your splendour.

If this Scripture was the object of reflection in the Johannine circle, it could only be taken to refer to the coming of the Lord in conjunction with Isaiah 40:5. The twice-repeated δόξα, so meaningfully applied to Jesus, and the title κύριος, also clearly attributed to him in John, supports this possibility. The presence of this

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[299] So W. D. Davies, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins," Religion in Life, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Spring 1957, pp. 246-253.

passage seems to be indicated also by the terms σκότος and τὸ φῶς. The latter, with the article, might almost be construed as a title, especially since it is preceded with the word ἥκει, used in Hellenistic literature of the coming of the deity.[300] In this term and the verbs the emphasis throughout is upon "light" and "shining," a nuance also suggested in δόξα.[301] It is probable that this passage, Isaiah 60:1-3, lies behind this theme of "light" as we find it in John.

However, John apparently did not originate this usage. Rather, in his Gospel we find an extension of meaning far beyond the OT Scriptures. According to John, Jesus said, "I am the Light of the world;"[302] as long as he was in the world, he was the light by which the disciples are to walk.[303]

> In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. He came for testimony, to bear witness to the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but came to bear witness to the light. The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world.[304]

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[300] John 8:42! Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 345, cites instances in the Papyri Graecae Magicae, the Hermetic Writings, and the Sibyllene Oracle.

[301] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 202f., gives as one meaning "splendour," "radiance." Does the term "nations," or "Gentiles," and the term "earth" (perhaps modified to "world") find reflections elsewhere in John's gospel?

[302] John 8:12, 9:5, 12:46.

[303] John 8:12, 9:5, 11:9,10, 12:46.

[304] John 1:4-9

Clearly τὸ φῶς has become a title, not only of Jesus in this world, but of the Word before his incarnation. The phrase "the Light" signifies not only Jesus' significance for men,[305] but also his pre-existent status.

In this latter nuance and in the relationship between "light" and "life" is found a clue to the origin of this developed motif. C. H. Dodd, in his discussion of the corpus hermetica, makes some relevant comments. First, in the Hermetic writings, God is identified with Light, and therefore Light is existent from all eternity. According to these writings, in the creation God creates darkness; light is already there. The OT writers, the LXX translators, and even Philo (reluctantly) refuse to make this identification.[306] It may be noted that in I John this identification is made.[307] Secondly, "Life" is closely associated with "Light." Whereas precedents existed in the LXX for this collocation, in the Hermetic writings it is central. "The writer returns to it again and again, and he clearly regards the identification of the supreme Being with the union of Life and Light as a cardinal point of revelation."[308] Noting that both the author of Poimandres and Philo saw in the story of creation in Genesis 1 "life" and "light"

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[305] Rudolf Bultmann, op. cit., II, p. 17, has an illuminating discussion on this aspect of the theme.

[306] C. H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 107-8.

[307] I John 1:5

[308] Dodd, op. cit., p. 133.

as two fundamental manifestations of the divine, Dodd concludes that both

> represent a doctrine already established by the Christian era, where Jewish and Hellenistic thought met in an Egyptian environment, the doctrine that the union of the ideas of light and life gives the most adequate account of God in His creative aspect.[309]

The congruence between the Gospel of John and the Hermetic literature is the result of Johannine contact with Philonic ideas, if not with the works of Philo himself, as well as with the LXX.[310]

Whatever may be the specific conclusion reached concerning the process and locale of this development, it is clear that the elaboration of the motif of "light" took place, perhaps on the basis of, but certainly not restricted by, OT texts. Therefore, the developed Johannine doctrine cannot be attributed to the influence of II Isaiah. In the background and as the basis of this theme, however, may be perceived chiefly Isaiah 60:1-3. It is likely that prior to John this passage was used with reference to Christ in his community; it therefore provided the seedbed out of which the more developed doctrine could spring up.

John 15:26,27. The relevant part of these verses reads, " . . .the Counselor . . .will bear witness to me; and you also are witnesses, because you have been with me from the beginning." In this verse, Dodd[311] suggests an allusion to Isaiah 43:10, where

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[309] Ibid., p. 136.

[310] Loc. cit.

[311] Dodd, According to the Scriptures, op. cit., p. 90.

the phrase appears, "You are my witnesses, says the Lord."

It will be remembered that abundant evidence of such influence has been found in the Acts of the Apostles.[312] Is it also clearly present in John? The answer is primarily negative. The noun "witness" occurs not at all in John, but the verb (μαρτυρέω) appears quite frequently. In general usage, it is used of the words of Jesus, as he informed his listeners of the lack of honour that a prophet had in his own country,[313] of the evilness of this world,[314] and of his prophecy concerning his betrayal.[315] Jesus challenges the High Priest to "bear witness" concerning any wrong that Jesus had done,[316] and the Baptist told his disciples to "bear witness" concerning what he had said about Jesus.[317] John the evangelist says that Jesus needed no one to "bear witness" concerning men, for he already knew them completely.[318] In all of these instances, the verb seems to mean to either "make known" or to "confirm" someone's words or acts, and the meaning is not noticeably different when Jesus is said to "bear witness" to "what he has seen and heard," to the "truth."[319] Regarding "witness" to Jesus, numerous instances are present, most of which are implied but not explicit in the other Gospels. The ones who "witness"

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[312] See above under Acts 1:8, 5:32.

[313] 4:44

[314] 7:7

[315] 13:21

[316] 18:23

[317] 3:28

[318] 2:25

[319] 3:11,32, 18:37

to Jesus, his words, his acts, and his person, are many: God,[320] his works,[321] Scriptures,[322] Jesus himself,[323] the crowd who saw the resuscitation of Lazarus,[324] the Spirit,[325] John,[326] the woman of Samaria,[327] and in only one instance, the disciples.[328]

What then may we make of this usage? First, John makes explicit what is implicit elsewhere, especially in so far as the witnesses to Jesus is concerned. With several exceptions, the witnesses to Jesus are reflections of the experiences and convictions of the early church. Secondly, it is difficult to say whether the motif of "witnesses" which we have seen in Acts is present in John. On the one hand, the usage speaks against it. On the other, the fact that this is a Gospel, not an account of apostolic preaching, and that John 15:27 is close to Acts 1:22, speaks for it. Perhaps it is best to consider this verse as an unlikely allusion to Isaiah and to assume that John and his readers were acquainted with the motif as we know it in the Acts.

John 6:19. This verse tells of Jesus' walking on the sea, an event which we have already considered with respect to Mark 6:48 and Matthew 14:25, above. In the instance of Mark 6:48, the

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[320] 5:32,37, 8:18

[321] 5:36

[322] 5:39

[323] 8:13,14,18; cf. 5:31

[324] 12:17

[325] 15:26

[326] 1:7,8,15,32,34, 3:26, 5:33

[327] 4:39

[328] 15:27

influence of Job 9:8 was noted. Nestle[329] suggests that an allusion to Isaiah 43:16, "Thus says the Lord, who makes a way in the sea, a path in the mighty waters," is present. If so, it is likely that the allusion is secondary. However, the observation that the title "Lord" is present in the OT sources is of importance; this matter will be pursued further, in connection with this pericope, below.

John 7:37-39. In these verses, possible allusions have been found to Isaiah 43:20, 44:3, 55:1, and/or 58:11, as well as to a number of other OT passages.[330] However, Sir Edwin Hoskyns, in his incisive discussion of this passage, has demonstrated that no OT passage can be established with certainty as the source of this figure. He regards it as a Christian midrash, intended to fulfill the second miracle of Moses in the desert: water from the rock.[331] In the figure of "come to me and drink," the passage is similar to Isaiah 55:1; in the association of "water" and "Spirit," it may reflect Isaiah 44:3, where these two elements are present, and could with propriety be applied to the Lord. These passages, especially 44:3 and 55:1, may lie in the background of these verses, but this suggestion must remain a possibility.

John 4:10,11,12,13,14,15; 6:35. In these verses, the image of "water" also appears. In John 4, Jesus is speaking with the

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[329]Nestle, op. cit., p. 247.

[330]Nestle, ibid., p. 254, sees a possible allusion to these passages; Luthardt, op. cit., p. 59, only to Isaiah 55:1.

[331]Edwyn Clement Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, ed. by F. N. Davey (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1947), pp. 320-323.

Samaritan woman at the well, at which time he referred to that which he had to give as "living water." Hoskyns gives abundant references to indicate that this term signified "salvation."[332] These references are not limited to Isaiah, or even the OT, but include in addition the Targums and Philo. Hoskyns concludes that "these Old Testament and Jewish references are quite sufficient to explain the background of the discourse; . . ,"[333] so the suggested allusions to Isaiah 44:3, 49:10, 55:1f, and 58:11 must be assessed in this light.[334]

Several points of contact with some of these passages are noteworthy. In 4:14, the phrase "whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him will never thirst; . . .," is strongly reminiscent of Isaiah 49:10, a thought which recurs in John 6:35. The Isaiah passage itself is almost quoted in Revelations 7:16. We may be certain, therefore, that this passage was thoroughly known and interpreted in the Christian circles out of which the material in the Revelation arose, and perhaps in the Johannine community as well. Another point concerns the phrase "will become . . .a spring of water welling up to eternal life," in 1:14, a thought also expressed in 7:38. Several of the terms in this verse are close to the phraseology of Isaiah 58:11, and may be taken as a reflection of this verse. Thus, although II Isaiah is not necessarily the source of this motif, which has been greatly elaborated in the

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[332] Ibid., p. 241.

[333] Loc. cit.

[334] Nestle, op. cit., pp. 239; Dodd, op. cit., p. 20; Luthardt, op. cit., p. 59.

Johannine community, these specific verses seem to be reflected in it.

John 18:20. Nestle[335] suggests that in the phrases "I have spoken openly to the world" and especially "I have said nothing in secret" there is an allusion to Isaiah 45:19. Isaiah 45:18h,19 reads as follows,

> I am the Lord (LXX: Ἐγώ εἰμι), and there is no other,
> I did not speak in secret (LXX: οὐκ ἐν κρυφῇ λελάληκα),
> in a land of darkness (LXX: nor in a dark place of the earth);
> I did not say to the offspring of Jacob,
> 'Seek me in chaos'.
> I the Lord (LXX: ἐγώ εἰμι ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος)
> speak the truth (LXX: λαλῶν δικαιοσύνην)
> I declare what is right (LXX: καὶ ἀναγγέλλων ἀλήθειαν).

In the phrase οὐκ ἐν κρυφῇ λελάληκα is to be found the suggested allusion. It cannot be demonstrated with certainty on this basis, but consideration of this verse below will indicate that it is extremely probable.

John 13:31; 17:1. These verses speak of the "glorification" of the Father in the Son and of the Son himself. In these verses Dodd[336] sees an allusion to Isaiah 49:3, "And he said to me, 'You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified.'" The term "glory" has already been discussed above; at that time it was noted that the term designated both the end-result of God's mighty work and presence in Jesus the Son, and the status of the Son himself in the presence of God. Through the Crucifixion and Resurrection

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[335] Nestle, op. cit., p. 286.

[336] Dodd, op. cit., p. 91.

both God is "glorified" and the Son returns to his place of "glory" in God's presence. It seems unlikely, therefore, that these verses constitute an allusion to this particular passage. The presence of the words "Israel" and "servant" does not commend this particular passage, since elsewhere, as we have seen, it is the title "Lord" which is found in the context of sources from which the verses concerning "glory" are drawn. It is perhaps better to regard both the Isaiaic passage, 49:3, and the Johannine passages as the consequences of the awareness of God's acts in history; in the first case, God is acting in Israel before the nations, and in the second case, God is acting in Jesus to bring about salvation. If this view be true, then no dependence upon Isaiah is to be found here.[337]

John 10:16, 11:52. In 11:52, Dodd[338] saw a possible allusion to Isaiah 49:5. In John, Caiaphas has just pronounced his judgment that Jesus must die, and John comments, "He did not say this of his own accord, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad." The allusion is suggested in the last clause. Isaiah 49:5, a part of one of the "servant songs," reads, "And now the Lord says, who formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him . . ."

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[337] See Hoskyns, op. cit., p. 449-50.

[338] Dodd, op. cit., p. 91.

It is unlikely that an allusion is present to this verse in Isaiah. Dodd, observing that these words are a part of the message to the "servant," tends to assume that therefore they were applied to Jesus. Actually, only in this section is the servant charged with gathering the scattered ones of Israel, and significantly verse 6, which completes this commission, is applied to Paul and Barnabas in Acts 13:47. In fact, several possible allusions have been noted above in the writings of Paul to the first verses of this chapter, indicating that Paul himself may have regarded his role as that of a "servant of the Lord" Jesus. That the early church considered the Risen One to be not the servant but the Lord present in this chapter is also supported by the fact that both 49:8 and 49:10 is addressed to the early Christians by their Risen Lord, the former in II Corinthians 6:1-2 -- apparently drawn from traditional material -- and the latter found in Revelations 7:15-17. Thus it is very improbable that this verse is alluded to in John 11:52.

Yet it is highly likely that an allusion to II Isaiah does appear in this verse and elsewhere in John. Let us consider this theme of the "gathering" of Israel as it appears in John. In John 10:16, the theme makes its first appearance. Jesus is speaking of himself, according to John, as the "good Shepherd," and he says, ". . .and I have other sheep, that are not of this fold; I must bring them also, and they will heed my voice. So there shall be one flock, one shepherd." Much more revealing is the verse above, John 11:52. In this verse, Hoskyns has clearly indicated the motif of the "gathering" of the people of God.

> In the Christian Church the Jews who have believed--"the people" in the first part of the prophecy of Caiaphas--and the believing Gentiles--"the whole nation" in the second part of the prophecy of Caiaphas--have been united into one family. This expanded operation of the power of God depends, however, wholly upon the death of Jesus, by which He draws all men unto Himself, and become the effective Saviour of the World (iii. 14,17, xii. 32; I John ii. 2). The language here echoes the distinction in ch. x between the sheep who have been called out of Judaism (x. 1-15) and the "other sheep" who have not come out of "this fold," the whole, however, forming "one flock" under the "one shepherd who layeth down his life for the sheep" (x. 11,16). The phrase "the children of God that are scattered abroad," which in a Jewish context would denote the dispersion of the Jews among the Gentiles, is here transferred to describe the Gentiles beyond the borders of Israel who await their liberation and are destined to believe through the preaching of the disciples of Jesus (i. 13, vii. 35, xvii. 20, 21; I John iii. 1, 19, cf. Eph. ii. 15; Did. ix. 4).[339]

Of equal importance is another passage in the Fourth Gospel: John 12:20-24. Jesus has just entered Jerusalem, and was hailed as "he who cometh." Immediately afterwards, some Greeks -- present for the festival--contact Phillip and Andrew, asking to see Jesus. These disciples then speak with Jesus, conveying to him the wish of the Greeks. Jesus' reply is of extreme significance, and somewhat unexpected: "The hour has come for the Son of man to be glorified." Then he proceeds to point out the necessity of his death. Why did Jesus give this unexpected reply? One would have expected either an affirmative or a negative response to their desire to see him. Instead, he answers with a statement heavy with meaning. Several times it has been remarked in the Gospel, in connection with times

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[339]Hoskyns, op. cit., pp. 410-411.

of danger in the life of Jesus, that "his time had not come."[340] This statement indicates that it is only after the Greeks -- or Gentiles -- display an interest in him that the time for his death is at hand. Therefore, we are quite justified in seeing in this incident, as Hoskyns suggests, an anticipation of the power of Christ among the Gentiles in the early church.[341]

The theme of the "gathering of the Gentiles" is vividly present in the latter portions of Isaiah, and with the exception of the passages in Isaiah 49 -- noted above -- the motif is associated not with the servant but the activity of "the Lord." Only in 42:4 is the "gathering of Israel" associated elsewhere with the figure of the "servant," and it has been indicated above that here the "servant" was conceived of primarily in Messianic terms, and not as a vicarious sufferer. Isaiah 49:12, which occurs in a passage thoroughly implemented by the early church, reads, "Lo, these come from afar, and lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of Syene (LXX: Persia)." The same note appears in Isaiah 51:4-5, and Isaiah 55:5, occurring in the climactic portion of II Isaiah, immediately following the re-affirmation of the covenant by Yahweh, reads, according to the LXX,

> Nations (or: Gentiles), who have not known you,
> will call upon you,
> and people, who have not believed you,
> will take refuge in you,
> because of your God the Holy One of Israel,

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[340] E.g., 2:4, 13:1.

[341] Hoskyns, op. cit., p. 423.

for he has glorified you.[342]

This theme appears with particular intensity in chapters 56-66 of Isaiah. The theme is present in Isaiah 61:9, but in four other passages especially it may be noted. Each of these occurs in a portion clearly present in early Christian interpretation. The first is Isaiah 56:7, which, following the words cited by the Lord in the Temple,[343] would almost of necessity be applied to Jesus, once the title "Lord" was his: "Thus says the Lord (κύριος), who gathers the scattered ones of Israel, for he will gather the gathered ones unto him."[344] Here the note of "gathering" is explicit. Isaiah 60:1-3, a passage of great influence in Johannine thought with its affirmations concerning the "glory" and "light" of the "Lord,"[345] concludes in 60:3 with these words, "And kings shall come to your light, and Gentiles (or: nations) to the brightness of your rising."[346] This verse alone, if no other one was more likely, could easily be alluded to in the

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[342] The MT reads,

Behold, you shall call nations that you know not,
and nations that knew you not shall run to you,
because of the Lord your God, and of the Holy One
of Israel, for he has glorified you.

[343] See the discussion of the citation above, as it appears in Matthew 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46. Note especially Luke's phrase, "for all the Gentiles," which Matthew and Mark do not have.

[344] This is perhaps a too literal translation of the LXX. The MT involves difficulties, but the RSV renders, "Thus says the Lord God, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather yet others to him besides those already gathered."

[345] See above for the discussion of these three terms.

[346] Rendering the LXX. The MT reads, "And nations shall come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your rising."

Johannine motif, and it may well play a part in the development of the motif. In 65:1, sandwiched between two portions cited by the apostle Paul,[347] stands this statement, "I said, 'Here I am, here am I,' to a nation (LXX: to Gentiles) that did not call on my name."[348] Evidence will be adduced below that the LXX rendering of this verse could have been with all probability in the thought of John. Isaiah 62:2, in speaking of the new Jerusalem in a section that was certainly known in apocalyptic circles and probably by Paul, says, "The Gentiles (or: nations) shall see your righteousness and the kings your glory, and he will call you by your new name, which the Lord will name."[349] This passage possibly had great meaning in the early church, due to the reference to a "new name."[350] Most important of all, for Johannine thought, is Isaiah 66:18-20. This passage seems to have been clearly applied to Jesus by John and his community, an application made possible by and carried out because of Jesus' status as "Lord." It must be regarded as a text-source of great importance in the Fourth Gospel. Since the motif of the "gathering of the Gentiles" is here involved, as

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[347] See the discussion of this citation in Romans 10:20,21 above in which it was indicated that Paul himself applied the preceding words to the Gentiles.

[348] The LXX reads, "I said, 'I am He,' to Gentiles that did not call on my name." The significance of the words, "'I am He'", will be discussed below.

[349] The MT reads: "The nations shall see your vindication, and all the kings your glory; and you shall be called by a new name which the mouth of the Lord will give."

[350] E.g., Rev. 2:17, 3:12.

well as other highly significant themes, it may be well to examine this passage briefly but in detail. Since the MT involves several textual difficulties, it will be well to base the discussion on the LXX, and to make mention of these difficulties of the MT in the analysis.

> εἶπε κύριος.
> κἀγὼ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν ἐπίσταμι.
> ἔρχομαι συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς γλώσσας,
> καὶ ἥξουσι καὶ ὄψονται τὴν δόξαν μου. καὶ καταλείψω
> ἐπ' αὐτῶν σημεῖα καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σεσῳσμένους
> εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, εἰς Θαρσις καὶ Φουδ καὶ Λουδ καὶ
> Μοσοχ καὶ Θοβελ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ εἰς τὰς
> νήσους τὰς πόρρω, οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασί μου τὸ
> ὄνομα οὐδε ἑωράκασι τὴν δόξαν μου, καὶ
> ἀναγγελοῦσί μου τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι

Quite clearly, to the author of this section these verses were the description of the coming of the Lord God to Zion, the appearance of His glory there, attended by powerful effect, and the going forth of the message of this event to the uttermost parts of the earth. Thus it was the description of the ushering in of the new age.[351] John regarded the verses in the same way, but must have understood them with regard to Jesus the Lord. This is strongly supported by the phrase, "says the Lord," immediately preceding the description,

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[351]See James Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 770-71.

which John certainly connected with this description and by which he understood the Lord Jesus.[352] In the description, almost every term and phrase is loaded with meaning. John 2:24 reads, ". . .but Jesus did not trust himself to them, because he knew all men and needed no one to bear witness of man; for he himself knew what was in man." Although the Hebrew is corrupt, this sentence clearly embodies the meaning of the first phrase of this description, as supported by the LXX: "I know their works and their thoughts."[353] The LXX, again in a place where the MT is not reliable, reads, "I am coming," a verb to which there seems an almost certain allusion in the Messianic greetings to "he who cometh" in John 12:13,15,[354] which immediately precedes the coming of the Greeks. The term συναγάγη is used of the "gathering" of the children of God in 11:52 by John. The term ἔθνος, which consistently was used in the LXX to render גּוֹי, in Greek usually meant "Gentiles."[355] To be sure, the term is used only five times in the Gospel of John; in 18:35, as in 11:48, 50, it is used of the "nation" of the Jews, but in the latter two verses one would suspect a double meaning --

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[352]It has been demonstrated above, especially on the basis of John 12:41, that "the Lord" in Isaiah for John signified the pre-existent Christ.

[353]See also 1:47, 6:61, 13:11; Mk. 2:8.

[354]It may be objected that this phrase is used messianically in these verses, whereas in Isaiah 66 the sense is not messianic. However, in the early church the "lordship" and "messiahship" of Christ were closely related--cf. usage of Psalm 110:1 and other scriptures--and also John himself did not limit "he who cometh" to the Messiah: cf. John 6:14.

[355]See Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 217.

"nations" and "Gentiles" -- since the comment is from the author and the word shifts from the singular to the plural. In addition, it is difficult to believe that John was unaware of the dominant meaning of the term in the Greek language and the usage elsewhere in the Christian tradition.[356] The significance of the term τὴν δόξαν μου, which appears three times in these two verses, has already been explored; it denoted the power and presence of God and His Son. Muilenburg rightly states that "the glory of God is not a static but a dynamic, active reality. It works destruction upon some, salvation upon others."[357] This is precisely what John repeatedly portrays in the person of Jesus; in Him was the glory of God, and in Him was the glory of the Lord. This "glory" the Gentiles will "come" and "see," which is exactly what Jesus perceived in the inquiry of the Greeks. After the Gentiles "come" and "see" the glory of the Lord, a sign -- according to the MT -- is set in their midst. For John, this "sign" would be the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the greatest of the "signs" through which God's power and presence was displayed. However, it is likely that John knew a text in which the term is plural: "I will set signs among them." The plural is supported by the LXX and the DSS, and is to be preferred. The place of "signs" in the Gospel of John, and their relation to the Lord's "glory," has already been explored, and the significance of this

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[356] Acts 11:1,18, 14:5,27, 15:3,7, 21:21, 26:17; Romans 3:29, 9:24, 15:10.

[357] Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 771.

term for John is obvious.[358] Following the setting of the "sign" or "signs," the Lord will send out from them [the Gentiles] "those who had been saved" (σεσωσμένους), a term weighed down with soteriological significance for the early church.[359] These "who had been saved" would then proclaim (ἀναγγελοῦσί) the Lord's "glory" among the Gentiles (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι), among those who had neither heard his name nor seen his glory. For John, this would mean the missionary work among the Gentiles, carried out at least in part by those Gentiles who had witnessed the Lord's "glory" in his death and resurrection. It is not without significance that one of the lands mentioned in which the report was to be made was "Greece" (εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα), and that the phrase concerning "those who have neither heard my name nor seen my glory" reflects the same commission as is presented with respect to the apostles in Acts and to himself by Paul.[360] Not only the terminology of this passage but even the sequence is paralleled in the Gospel of John. Thus, we may be certain that this passage stands behind the Gospel of John, and that it -- as well as the other passages from "III Isaiah" discussed above -- is of significance for the motif of the "gathering" of the children of God.

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[358] See the discussion above in connection with John 12:38 /// Isaiah 53:1.

[359] See Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., pp. 805-06.

[360] Romans 15:21 /// Isaiah 52:15. See the discussion above.

John 8:36. Luthardt[361] suggested that in this verse is to be found an allusion to the freeing of those oppressed by the servant in Isaiah 49:9. This seems highly unlikely. This note is certainly present in the tradition from the earliest times, although based on Isaiah 61:1ff. In our discussion of "light" and "darkness," the intense dualism of John's gospel was noted, and in our discussion of "redemption" and "ransom" the motif of freedom from sin was indicated. This last motif is certainly present in John, and in this Fourth Gospel it is coupled with the opposition between "light" and "darkness," "God" and the "devil." According to John, ". . .if the Son makes you free (from sin), you will be free indeed (8:16)." This emancipation wrought by Jesus constitutes the "judgment" (16:11) and "casting out" (12:31) of the "ruler of this world." It is messianic redemption[362] projected into a cosmic framework. Thus, it seems evident that no allusion to Isaiah 49:6 is present; rather, the theme is but another indication of the profound elaboration and expansion of primitive motifs in the Gospel of John.

John 18:22, 19:3. Both of these verses contain the fact that Jesus was "struck," first by the soldier guarding him before the High Priest, then by the soldier mocking him after his

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[361]Luthardt, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

[362]This connotation is supported by the instances in which the title "Son of God" stands in close relation with "Christ" in John 1:49, 11:27, 20:31, of which the first is Nathanael's confession, the second Martha's public confession, and the third the evangelist's.

sentencing. In the first of these verses, Dodd[363] sees an allusion to Isaiah 50:6, "I gave my back to the smiters, . . ."; an allusion to the same verse is suggested in John 19:3 by both Dodd[364] and Nestle.[365]

In the discussion above of similar possible allusions in Matthew and Mark several conclusions were reached. First, it must be assumed that linguistic coincidence has not taken place if an allusion is found here. It was considered likely, however, that this was an allusion reflecting actual historical occurrence. It was also concluded that, in the case of the element of Christ being "struck," the allusion was the result of the interpretative reflection of the early church. It would seem that the same conclusion is likely here, and that this is an allusion emphasizing the humiliation and suffering of the Lord Jesus. That the allusion is to be found in only one word, and is therefore only tentative, is clear.

John 12:35. Dodd[366] suggests that in this verse is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 50:10. Jesus says, "The light is with you for a little longer. Walk while you have the light, lest the darkness overtake you; he who walks in the darkness does not know where he goes." It seems obvious that this is an outcropping of the motif of "light" discussed extensively above, and that the similarity in thought and language is to be ascribed not to dependence but to the presence of common imagery. An

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[363]Dodd, op. cit., p. 91.

[364]Dodd, loc. cit.

[365]Nestle, op. cit., p. 288.

[366]Dodd, loc. cit.

allusion here is therefore highly unlikely.

John 12:23. This verse, which we have already considered in another connection, reads, "And Jesus answered them, 'The hour has come for the Son of man to be glorified.'" In the term "to be glorified," Dodd[367] sees an allusion to Isaiah 52:13.

With reference to several passages in Acts, it was maintained above that in Acts an allusion to Isaiah 52:13 was likely. However, it was also suggested that the allusion was associated not with the "servant" motif of Isaiah 53, but with the motif of Lordship or Messiahship, or both. This conclusion was based on the analysis of Matthew 8:17, Mark 1:11 (and parallels), Acts 3:13, and Philippians 2:9-11.

In this passage in John the allusion seems less likely. Rather than being based on this particular passage, the verse in John seems to be an expression of the much larger motif of "the glory" of the Lord and the glorification of the Lord through the mighty acts and presence of the Father in Him. The most marvelous act of all was the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. On the one hand, through this triumph over sin and the devil, God's name and the Lord's person were glorified, using the term in its OT meaning. The study above of this term "glory" has adequately indicated the importance of this motif, and it is unlikely that the specific usage here would be based on this particular passage. This conclusion will be supported by the

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[367] Dodd, op. cit., p. 92.

second allusion to this verse suggested by Dodd.

John 12:32. Dodd[368] suggests that in this verse is an allusion to Isaiah 52:13 also, to the phrase in that verse in Isaiah which says, "my servant . . .shall be exalted (LXX: ὑψωθήσεται) . . ." John 12:32 reads, ". . .and I, when I am lifted up (ὑψωθῶ) will draw all men to myself." In these Greek terms the allusion is to be found.

At first glance the allusion seems to be definite. Yet upon closer examination it is quite clear that the allusion, if one is present at all, is far in the background. To be sure, an allusion is present in this verse to an OT passage, but not to this one. John himself, in 3:14, clearly indicates that the passage alluded to is Numbers 21:8f. Jesus says, in John 3:14, "And as Moses lifted up (ὕψωσεν) the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up (ὑψωθῆναι. . .δεῖ), in order that all who believe on him might have eternal life." These terms remain constant in the other statements by Jesus concerning his "exaltation,"[369] and the evangelist in 18:32 explicitly states that the "raising of the serpent in the wilderness" was the OT type foreshadowing the manner of death which Jesus knew he was to die. Thus, there can be no doubt but that Numbers 21:8f. was the determinative theme as far as the "exaltation" of Jesus on the Cross was concerned, and that this passage from II Isaiah played

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[368] Dodd, loc. cit.

[369] 8:28, 12:32,34.

little if any part in this motif of "exaltation."

John 1:45. In this passage, Philip, speaking to Nathanael concerning Jesus, says, "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." Nestle[370] suggests that, among other sources, the reference is to Isaiah 53:2. This suggestion seems strained, and it is one which would be made only if it were assumed that John or his sources identified Jesus of Nazareth with the suffering servant of Isaiah 53. Rather, it would seem much more likely that the allusion is to the "prophet like unto Moses" of Deuteronomy 18:15,18, and to the coming messianic son of David, as anticipated in Isaiah 7:14, Jeremiah 23:5, and Ezekiel 34:23, as well as elsewhere. To all of these passages Nestle refers. The allusion to Isaiah 53:2 is therefore highly unlikely.

John 1:29; I John 3:5. John the Baptist, hailing Jesus, says in this verse from the Gospel of John, "Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world! (ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου). The title ὁ ἀμνὸς is repeated in John 1:35. In both of these instances, an allusion is seen by Nestle[371] to Isaiah 53:4 and 7.

The title itself by the time of the author of the Gospel had become a fixed title for Jesus, whether it was a title in the time of Jesus himself or not. Yet a great deal of ambiguity

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[370] Nestle, op. cit., p. 233.

[371] Ibid., p. 232.

is present in its meaning. Vincent Taylor states in brief the situation:

> The underlying ideas of the name are sacrificial, but it would be wrong to suppose that everywhere they are precisely the same. This qualification applies especially to John i. 29. Here the commentators take different views. Some base the passage on Isa. liii. 7, and others on Jer. xi. 19, 'I was like a gentle lamb that is led to the slaughter.' Others again see an allusion to the lamb slain at the morning and evening sacrifice (Ex. xxix. 38-46), or to the Paschal Lamb (Ex. xii), or even to the horned lamb of apocalyptic imagery. Amid these varieties of interpretation the most constant element is the idea that fundamentally the work of Christ for men is redemptive and sacrificial.[372]

This statement, written specifically with respect to John 1:29, is also applicable to I John 3:5.

G. H. MacGregor, after suggesting that both the sacrificial ritual and Isaiah 53 may have had some part in this title, goes on to maintain that the title chiefly refers to the Paschal Lamb.[373] Whether this view be accepted or not, several considerations make it highly unlikely that Isaiah 53 played any major part in its formulation. First, as MacGregor indicates,[374] the imagery of the Paschal Lamb seems to be present elsewhere in the Gospel of John, especially in 19:29,31. Secondly, the motif of "redemption," inherent in the conception of the Paschal Lamb,

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[372]Vincent Taylor, The Names of Jesus (London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1954), p. 116.

[373]G. H. C. MacGregor, The Gospel of John, in The Moffatt New Testament Commentary, ed. by James Moffatt (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1953), pp. 27,28.

[374]Ibid., p. 28.

runs somewhat counter to the thought of vicarious suffering. Thirdly, the verb αἴρω, used frequently in the Fourth Gospel with the meaning "to take up and remove out of the way" and so "to destroy,"[375] is used neither in the LXX rendering nor in the non-LXX rendering of Matthew 8:17 to translate Isaiah 53:4. The former uses φέρω and the latter λαμβάνω to denote the meaning "take upon oneself."[376] Fourthly, the usage of Isaiah 53:4 in Matthew 8:17, studied in detail above, is strong evidence against the usage of that passage in developing the title found in John 1:29.

These considerations suggest that Isaiah 53:4,7 had little to do with the formulation of the title "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world." The most likely source for the title is to be found not in these Isaianic verses, but in the passages dealing with the Paschal Lamb, the morning and evening sacrifice, and possibly the ritual of atonement.

John 6:45. In this passage is to be found a portion which lies just short of the point of being a citation. Jesus is speaking of those who hear the word of God and come to him in chapter 5. In John 6:44 he again resumes this thought: "No one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draws him; and I will raise him up at the last day. It is written in the prophets, 'And they shall all be taught by God (καὶ ἔσονται πάντες

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[375] E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, op. cit., p. 176.

[376] G. H. C. MacGregor, loc. cit.

διδακτοὶ θεοῦ).' Every one who has heard and learned from the Father comes to me." In this reference, both Nestle[377] and Toy[378] see the influence of Isaiah 54:13.

The text in Isaiah occurs in the middle of a section dealing with the promises of God to the glorified Jerusalem, a section clearly utilized in the apocalyptic work of John of Patmos. Yahweh promises to set the stones of the new Jerusalem in antimony, to lay her foundations with sapphires, to make her pinnacles of agate, her gates of carbuncles, and her walls of precious stones. Then follows this promise, "All your sons shall be taught by the Lord (MT: וְכָל-בָּנַיִךְ לִמּוּדֵי יְהוָה), and great shall be the prosperity of your sons."

It seems obvious that the N. T. passage is dependent upon Isaiah 54:13. Yet several interesting and worthwhile observations may be made. First, the N. T. clearly does not represent the LXX rendering, which reads, καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱούς σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ. Whether the N. T. represents an independent rendering or another Greek version it is not possible to say; nevertheless it represents a close translation of the Hebrew. Secondly, it may be mentioned that the citation is not necessarily taken in context. Whereas in Isaiah, the text is found in the context of the new Jerusalem, in John it is not. However, in John the text is applied to

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[377]Nestle, op. cit., p. 249.

[378]C. H. Toy, Quotations in the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), pp. 84-85.

Jesus as the "one sent by God," and, in a real sense, it is applied within the context of the "last days." If the eschatological context of Isaiah is present in John, it has been altered. Thirdly, it should be noted that in the allusion -- or perhaps citation -- the divine name יהוה is rendered by θεός rather than κύριος. Is it possible that κύριος as the name of יהוה is being purposely avoided?

The presence of the citation formula "it is written in the prophets" indicates without a doubt that the phrase is related to a scriptural passage, and almost constitutes a quotation. Yet the vagueness of the citation formula, and the variance of the N. T. reading from the LXX, causes the text to fall just short of this classification. It is definitely an allusion.

Hebrews, James, Jude, I and II Peter

Although there is little except variety to unify this group, it would be well to consider together the allusions which occur in these books, reserving for later discussion the allusions in the Pastoral Epistles and in the Revelation of John.

One should be aware that these books before us represent great differences both in purpose, style, authorship, and background. These differences will of necessity be regarded chiefly as irrelevant for our purposes, and will be discussed only as they entered into the particular topic under consideration. Nevertheless, the diversity found in this group may be of some advantage if a particular allusion is found to be significant. Let us now begin.

Hebrews 2:16. The author says, "For surely it is not with angels that he is concerned but with the descendants of Abraham." In the phrase, "the descendants of Abraham," Nestle[379] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 41:8,9. It seems better, however, to regard this phrase as an idiomatic expression, and to discount any specific relationship to Isaiah 41:8,9.

James 2:23. In this passage, the author refers to Abraham as "he who was called the friend of God." This phrase seems to be an allusion to Isaiah 41:8, in which the same title occurs.[380] This allusion indicates that the author of James knew this section of Second Isaiah, but it is of little importance in that he takes the title out of context and uses it to fortify his argument, which is not taken from Isaiah, that Abraham was justified by his work of faith. Little else can be derived from this allusion.

II Peter 1:17. Nestle[381] suggests that in this verse is to be found a definite allusion to Isaiah 42:1. This possibility has been discussed at some length above, and here it is sufficient to refer back to the discussion of Mark 1:11 and parallels.

I Peter 2:9. In this verse, as both Dodd[382] and Nestle[383]

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[379]Nestle, op. cit., p. 551.

[380]So Nestle, ibid., p. 578.

[381]Nestle, ibid., p. 593.

[382]C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, op. cit., p. 90.

[383]Nestle, op. cit., p. 585.

suggest, is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 43:20,21. The verse reads, "But you are a chosen race (γένος ἐκλεκτόν), a royal priesthood (βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα), a holy nation (ἔθνος ἅγιον), God's own people (λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν), that you may declare the wonderful deeds (ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε) of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light." Three of these phrases are definite allusions to Isaiah 43:20,21. The relevant portions of these verses read, "I have given rivers in the desert, to give drink to my chosen people (τὸ γένος μου τὸ ἐκλεκτόν), my people, whom I formed for myself to declare my praise (λαόν μου ὃν περιεποιησάμην τὰς ἀρετάς μου διηγεῖσθαι)." It is obvious that the phrase "a chosen race," "God's own people," and "that you may declare the wonderful deeds" are interpreted forms of the Isaianic phrases. The phrases "a royal priesthood" and "a holy nation" are dependent upon Exodus 19:6 and the LXX of Exodus 23:22.

These phrases from Second Isaiah were seemingly selected by the Christian community in order to utilize them in developing self-understanding on the part of the Christian church. The manner in which the phrases are cited would indicate that they are not the creation of the author of this epistle. Rather they are based on a developed interpretative process, and it is not unlikely that the phrases themselves appeared in the tradition received by the author of this epistle. The phrases, of course, are but an outcropping of the Christian community's consciousness of itself as the "new Israel," an awareness which appears in other places in the New Testament. The phrases, therefore, not only signify the

usage of this particular section of Second Isaiah, but also signify the prevalence of this motif in the New Testament community out of which this letter arose.

What significance may be found in the context of this passage? Clearly the immediate context is not utilized. However, does the fact that the Lord is speaking, the κύριος have anything to suggest? Is it possible that the early church regarded itself as the community of the Lord Jesus, "chosen" by him, "formed" by him, that they might declare his wonderful works? Nothing seems to be present to require the negative to these questions. In fact, perhaps the phrase λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν should be translated with the Greek "a people for his possession," with its referent as the one "who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light," the Lord Jesus Christ. Significantly, in one account of Paul's commissioning, the same motif is central.[384]

Hebrews 5:9; 9:12. In these verses, Nestle[385] sees possible allusions to a phrase found in Isaiah 45:17. This verse reads, "But Israel is saved by the Lord with everlasting salvation (σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον); you shall not be put to shame or confounded to all eternity." Hebrews 5:9 reads, "and being made perfect he became the source of eternal salvation (σωτηρίας αἰωνίου) to all who obey him, . . ."; Hebrews 9:12 reads, "he entered once for

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[384] Acts 26:18. See the discussion of the motif of "darkness" and "light" above.

[385] Nestle, op. cit., pp. 555, 561.

all into the Holy Place, taking not the blood of goats and calves but his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption (αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν)."

The close affinity of these phrases given in the Greek is obvious. It is extremely difficult to determine their origin, an endeavor which is essential in tracing a relationship between them. On the one hand, the presence of the title κύριος in the Isaianic context, and the strongly affirmative tenor of the verse from Isaiah, would commend the verse to the early Christians. Nothing would prevent them from taking the verse and applying it to the new situation brought about through the death and resurrection of their Lord, Jesus Christ. On the other hand, the author of the epistle to the Hebrews would not necessarily have to draw this phrase from Isaiah. His emphasis on the priestly work and sacrifice of Jesus, unending in its function and effect -- as contrasted with the Levitical office -- would inevitably issue in the affirmation of salvation which is eternal and unending. Hebrews 7:25 makes this absolutely clear: "Consequently he is able for all time to save those who draw near to God through him, since he always lives to make intercession for them." From this standpoint, the identity of phraseology would only be linguistic coincidence. The question of whether or not dependence on Isaiah is present in these verses in Hebrews must be left open for lack of conclusive evidence.

I Peter 1:18. In this verse, Nestle[386] sees a possible

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[386] Nestle, ibid., p. 584.

allusion to Isaiah 52:3, which reads, "For thus says the Lord: 'You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed without money.'" I Peter 1:18,19 reads, "You know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot."

The image of the lamb which appears in the last portion of these verses has been dealt with in our discussion of John 1:29; to this discussion reference is now made. Our concern at the present time is with the thought of "redemption without money." May this be attributed to the influence of this particular verse in Isaiah? On first inspection, it ssems unlikely. However, several considerations give some credence to an affirmative answer. First, the title κύριος is again present, a fact which might give meaning to this passage for the early Christians. Secondly, the verse is concerned with "redemption," a motif which was extremely important in early Christian thought. Thirdly, the verse occurs near the beginning of a highly significant section of Scripture, a section which was drawn upon by Paul and the pre-Pauline tradition, by the sources of the birth narratives of Luke, and by the non-Pauline source which appears in II Corinthians 6.[387] This section is comprised by Isaiah 52:7-11; significantly, in verse 9 the note of redemption again appears. These considerations give some strength to the view that Isaiah 52:3

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[387]Each of these applications are discussed in full above.

has been assimilated into the interpretative tradition which appears in I Peter 1:18.

I Peter 2:22,24,25. This section represents one of the few instances in which the suffering servant passage of Isaiah 53 is utilized in the New Testament. The relationship in this case is clear and direct, so much so that the distinct allusions are almost citations. However, the absence of a citation formula and the manner in which the passage is appropriated excludes its classification as a citation. In order that the relationship may be recognized, the Greek N. T. text and the relevant passages from Isaiah 53 are given at this point in our discussion.

I Peter 2:21-25	Isaiah
εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ	
ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ	53:9 ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν[d], οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος[d] ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ
ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως	
ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν[a] αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον,	53:4 ...τὰς ἁμαρτίας[e] ἡμῶν φέρει...
ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν	53:12 καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας[f] πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε...
οὗ τῷ μώλωπι[b] ἰάθητε	53:5 ...τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν
ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν[c]	53:6 πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν

[a] B pc υμων
[b] ℵ * Koine al add αυτου
[c] L 69* al ημων

[d-d] ℵ * O L-62-96 403 410 544 Cyp Tht Cypr Hi δολον; 87-490 δολος only; 51[c]-307 transposes
[e] L' (22*)-62-96 449 Athμαλακιας; 22-93 ασθενιας
[f] 106 ανομιας

The three later Greek translators render 53:4 and 53:12 as follows:

σ΄ (α΄sec 86)οντως (+αυτος 86) τας νοσους (αμαρτιας Pr)
ημων αυτος (86 omits) ανελαβε(ν) και τους πονους
(πολεμους 86) ημων (Eus Pr omit) υπεμεινεν ημεις ...

σ΄(α΄σ΄θ΄Tht) αυτος δε αμαρτιας πολλων ανελαβε
(α΄ηρεν σ΄θ΄ανελαβεν 86 ; α΄σ΄θ΄ανελαβεν Chr) ...

A close comparison shows that the N. T. text bears a marked affinity to that of the LXX. This fact is supported mainly by the identity of words and phraseology between the text of the LXX and I Peter. This affinity is even more striking when it is remembered that in Matthew 8:17 we have a text of Isaiah 53:4 which diverges in almost every respect from that of the LXX. The observation that the N. T. text of I Peter follows the LXX is of great importance, both for the thought and date of the passage, in that the LXX itself of Isaiah 53:4 diverges from the common exegesis of the passage.[388]

The hermeneutical method employed by the author is of great interest. The writer does not cite and then expound the passage. Nor does he employ the diatribe form, supplying answers to specific questions with portions of Scripture. Rather, the author displays the same type of selection and assimilation that may be noted in hymnic sections. Several marks distinguish the style of I Peter from these hymnic sections. First, the author of I Peter cites from a specific section of Scripture, whereas in the hymnic sections scriptures are quoted from various sections and books. Secondly,

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[388]See the analysis of Matthew 8:17 above.

whereas the hymnic sections contain scriptures which have been altered in order to make them applicable, I Peter is relatively exact in his citation of passages and phrases from the Old Testament. Yet in the actual sense of the term, these passages and phrases are not considered to be citations. The fact that the author eclectically selects phrases and words which suit his purpose from the section, without any regard for their order in the Isaianic text, prohibits this classification.

The application of these phrases in the New Testament context is instructive. It is clear that the author is not fully implementing what we consider to be a passage dealing with vicarious suffering. He is not intent on demonstrating the vicarious efficacy of Christ's suffering. Rather, he is concerned with showing that under the burden of unmerited suffering Christ demonstrated patience, endurance, and unfailing trust in God. This trait the author is exhorting the Christian servants to exhibit. "But if when you do right and suffer for it you take it patiently, you have God's approval. For to this you have been called, because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that you should follow in his steps . . . When he was reviled, he did not revile in return; when he suffered, he did not threaten; but he trusted to him who judges justly."[389] The author is enjoining the patient endurance of humiliating suffering.

Yet there is some indication that the author of this

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[389] I Peter 2:20b,21,23.

epistle is not for the first time implementing this scripture. For the writer's purpose, the demonstration of the innocency of Jesus and his patient suffering of unmerited injury would suffice. Yet he continues his exposition of these selected verses from Isaiah 53. The remainder of his exposition seems to be irrelevant to his immediate purpose. Thus the question may be asked whether or not he is using material which had been previously developed.

In this somewhat irrelevant material is to be found information which is very valuable for an understanding of the development of Christian interpretation, of the usage of Isaiah 53, and of the influence of Isaiah 53 upon that development; in verse 24 is found one of the few -- if not the only -- clear instances of the motif of vicarious suffering as applied to Jesus. "He himself 'bore our sins' in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. 'By his wounds' you 'have been healed.'" The phrase "For you were straying like sheep . . ." makes the allusion to Isaiah 53 completely certain. Yet the certainty concerning the application of the motif of vicarious suffering is somewhat tempered by the seemingly intentional substitution of the verb ἀναφέρω of 53:12 for the verb φέρω of 53:4. Though of some importance, this modification does not seriously threaten the hypothesis that the motif of vicarious suffering is present in this passage.

Is it possible to arrive at some conclusion concerning the date of the material before us? Was it present from the very earliest days, or was it developed later in the interpretative

process? It will be suggested here that the material was implemented at a later stage in the development of the Christian tradition than much material found in other New Testament documents. Several considerations give credence to this view. First, in this work we have a writer using material which seems to have been developed before him. Yet even his source depends upon the LXX version, or a Greek translation which bears close affinity to it. It is possible that such a translation was in use in Palestine during the immediately post-Resurrection period, but it is unlikely. The most reasonable place to find the usage of such a Greek translation is in the Hellenistic church. This inference seems to hold for almost all of the citations and close allusions to Isaiah 53 in the New Testament, excepting the non-LXX citation of Matthew 8:17. Secondly, several theological motifs are present in this passage which point to an already developed tradition. These motifs are present in the source themselves. These motifs are 1) the emphasis on the humiliation of Jesus, 2) the motif of the ξύλου, 3) the note of being dead to sin and alive to righteousness, and 4) the titles "Shepherd" and "Guardian" for Jesus. The emphasis on the humiliation of Jesus has been noted on many occasions, and we need not enter into it again at this point; this motif may go back into the period just after the Resurrection. The motif of the ξύλον is extremely interesting, and finds at least two interpretations elsewhere in the New Testament. In the Acts of the Apostles, the term appears in three passages, all of which Dodd classifies as

expressions of the early Christian kerygma.[390] Thus, at least in these passages, the term was used at the earliest times concerning the means by which Christ was killed. A reflection of this is possibly to be found in Revelations 22:1,2, "Then he showed me . . . 'the tree of life' with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding 'its fruits each month'; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." Admittedly, these verses are based upon Genesis 2:9 and 3:22 especially, but the term tree (ξύλον) could easily refer to the Cross transformed, an instrument now of life and not of death; the phrase "the healing of the nations" (εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν) could easily be a reflection of the verb in Isaiah 53:5, one of the verses now under consideration. Why would ξύλον and not σταυρός be used in these verses? A possible answer is the presence of this term in Old Testament texts used in early Christian interpretation. Paul, in Galatians 3:13, gives one instance of such a text: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us -- for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who hangs on a tree (ἐπὶ ξύλον)' -- that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." Although the term is not present either in the relevant O. T. or in the Johannine passages, Barnabas 12:7 uses the term of the "pole" upon which Moses in the wilderness lifted up the serpent. This event John employed.

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[390] Acts 5:30; 10:39; 13:29. So C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, op. cit.

The phrase "that we might die to sin and live to righteousness" finds a parallel in Romans 6:11, "So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus."[391] This motif seems to be basically Pauline. The fourth factor, the titles Shepherd and Guardian, seem to be equally late. The title Shepherd has already been discussed to some extent above; here it will suffice to say that it became at a rather early time a title for the Lord, as well as for leaders in the Hellenistic Christian church.[392] The title itself has various sources in the Old Testament. The second title, Guardian or Bishop, has only one, in Job 20:29. In Hellenistic literature it was exceedingly popular,[393] and its usage in the Hellenistic church may be attributed to this currency. In the New Testament, in addition to the passage before us, "Shepherd" is found only once as a title of Christ,[394] and "Guardian" only here. Thus, the two titles give clear indication of a late date for this section.

All of these factors would indicate a Hellenistic setting for the source from which the author is drawing. Such a setting must of necessity have been provided some time after the post-Resurrection period. Such an inference is useful for a final evaluation of the influence of the servant-motif on the New Testament.

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[391] Romans 6:11; see also 6:18, Col. 2:12.

[392] So Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 690.

[393] Ibid., p. 299.

[394] Heb. 13:20

Hebrews 9:28. Nestle[395] suggests that in this verse is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 53:12. This verse reads, ". . .so Christ, having been offered once to bear the sins of many, will appear a second time, . . ." The phrase εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας is thought to be an allusion to the phrase καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε in Isaiah. The similarity of words makes this allusion likely. Thus another instance of the usage of Isaiah 53 is found.

Again the dependence upon a Greek version with close affinities to the LXX must be noted. In addition, it must be remembered that the allusion takes place in the context of sacrificial action. Thus the phrase is subordinated to the priestly function and office of Jesus Christ. It would seem that the author did not intend to bring in the context of the phrase in Isaiah; rather the phrase was apt and he used it for this reason.

It is also worth noting that again the verb is ἀναφέρω and not φέρω, as in Isaiah 53:4. Is it possible that again we have a reflection of the interpretative tradition presently found in I Peter, where the same phrase is utilized? Does the motif of the ζύλον also lie behind this passage? These questions are of course unanswerable, but may suggest some relationship between the sources of I Peter and Hebrews.

Hebrews 13:20. Nestle[396] suggests that in the phrase "the blood of the eternal covenant" in this verse is to be found an

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[395]Nestle, op. cit., p. 562.

[396]Nestle, ibid., p. 572.

allusion to the phrase, "I will make with you an everlasting covenant," in Isaiah 55:3. Although this possibility is not to be dismissed, the influence of Zechariah 9:11 should not be overlooked. Since this verse comes just after Zechariah 9:9, the verse used in all four gospels of Christ's triumphal entry, it may be expected that Zechariah 9:11 would be noted. The verse reads, "As for you also, because of the blood of my covenant with you, I will set your captives free from the waterless pit." This verse, along with the other covenantal formulations in both the Old and New Testaments, as well as Isaiah 55:3, lies at the basis of Hebrews 13:20.

Hebrews 13:15. Nestle[397] suggests that in this verse is to be found an allusion to Isaiah 57:19. After some examination it was concluded that no trace of an allusion to the specified verse in Isaiah is to be found in Hebrews 13:15. Allusions are present, but they are basically to Psalm 50:14,23 and Hosea 14:3.

I Peter 2:5,9. In the first of these verses Nestle[398] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 61:6, in the second Dodd[399] sees an allusion to the same verse in Isaiah. It seems that neither suggestion is acceptable. Not only does the language of the two phrases bear little resemblance to the Isaianic phrase, but it has been noted above that the relevant part of I Peter 2:9 is

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[397] Ibid.

[398] Ibid., p. 585.

[399] C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, op. cit., p. 95.

dependent upon Exodus 19:6 and the LXX of Exodus 23:22.

Hebrews 13:20. According to Nestle,[400] the phrase referring to Jesus "the great shepherd of the sheep" is a possible allusion to Isaiah 63:11. This seems highly unlikely; rather it is best to consider the phrase to be based on other Old Testament passages, e.g., Psalm 23, Ezekiel 34:37, and the poimenic sayings and parables of Jesus.

II Peter 3:13. This verse reads, "But according to his promise we wait for new heavens and a new earth (καινοὺς δὲ οὐρανοὺς καὶ γῆν καινὴν)[401] in which righteousness dwells." In the phrase "new heavens and a new earth" Nestle[402] sees a possible allusion to either Isaiah 65:17 or 66:22, or both.

This allusion, as well as the next, are the only allusions as such to be found in II Peter. It is informative that they are eschatological, and that both are from the last two chapters of Isaiah. Both select verses or phrases to elaborate on the eschatological imagery and outlook expressed in these sections of II Peter. The allusion before us now seems entirely likely. The same phrase is utilized in Revelations 21:1,27. It is interesting to note that not only do the words form a chiasmus, but that when spoken they have a ringing and memorable sound. They could have

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[400] Nestle, op. cit., p. 572.

[401] Codices Aleph, A, and others reverse the order of the second phrase.

[402] Nestle, op. cit., p. 597.

well formed an early Christian apocalyptic slogan.

II Peter 3:10. This verse reads, in part, "But the day of the Lord will come . . .and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and the works that are upon it will be burned up." In this vivid imagery, Nestle[403] sees an allusion to Isaiah 66:15,16.

In our discussion above of II Thessalonians 1:8, it was demonstrated that Isaiah 66:15,16 had great influence upon the apocalyptic thought of the early church. Although the allusion before us cannot with certainty be demonstrated, it is not impossible that in this verse is found another expression of this eschatological passage.

The Pastoral Epistles

Under this heading, the comparatively few allusions in Titus, I and II Timothy will be considered. These letters, written at a relatively late time in the New Testament period, may be expected to display much traditional interpretation. This aspect will enter into our consideration, and, except in the face of strong evidence to the contrary, will be considered as the likely basis for allusive material.

I Timothy 6:1; Titus 2:5. In both of these verses, Ellis[404] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 52:5, ". . .Their rulers wail, says the Lord, and continually all the day my name is despised."

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[403]Nestle, ibid., p. 597.

[404]Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, op. cit., p. 154.

The phrase "my name is despised" is the relevant portion. I Timothy 6:1 reads, "Let all who are under the yoke of slavery regard their masters as worthy of all honor, so that the name of God and the teachings may not be defamed." Titus 2:4,5 in part, reads, ". . . train the young women . . .to be sensible, chaste, domestic, kind, and submissive to their husbands, that the word of God may not be discredited."

Although the verb in all three phrases is the same, it seems best to regard this as linguistic coincidence. In the New Testament instances, the phrase "that the word of God and the teachings may not be despised" would appear to be a phrase used in exhortation and ethical instruction; it is interesting that the phrase "and the teachings" is inserted by Codex C and the Heraclean Syriac. The phrases seem to bear no relationship to Isaiah 52:5.

I Timothy 2:6; Titus 2:14. In both of these verses, Ellis[405] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 53:11,12. I Timothy 2:5,6 reads, "For there is one God, and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all (ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων), the testimony to which was borne at the proper time."

It was suggested above, in the discussion of Mark 10:45 and 14:24, that the phrase before us in I Timothy is a reflection of the material which we find in the Gospel of Mark. It is therefore to be regarded as traditional material, rather than as

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[405] Ellis, ibid., p. 154.

the expression of the direct influence of the Old Testament. The phrase "the testimony to which was borne at the proper time" supports this contention. The motif of "ransom" was discussed with respect to these Markan passages, as well as with regard to Luke 2:38 above. In both cases, it was suggested that "ransom" was akin to the concept of "redemption," which was associated not with a "sin-offering" atoning for sin but with the messianic deliverance to be wrought by the Messiah.

This suggestion receives some support from the second passage, Titus 2:13,14: "awaiting our blessed hope, the appearing of the glory of our Great God and Savior Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity." Again the motif of redemption appears, but in a much clearer context; here clearly, on the basis of a phrase adapted from Psalm 130:8, "redemption" signifies release from the bondage of sin. It is the Lord of Second Isaiah, not the suffering servant of Isaiah 53, who fulfills this function toward the people Israel. Likewise, in the New Testament it is Jesus as Lord, not as the suffering servant, who fulfills this function toward his people, the new Israel.

The Revelation of John of Patmos

With this document this discussion is dealing with an entirely different type of literature: apocalyptic. It may be anticipated that the manner of utilizing Isaianic material will differ, and in all likelihood this anticipation will prove justified.

In some instances it has been noted that material presently found elsewhere in the New Testament has an eschatological or even apocalyptic background. Here we are dealing with material that arose out of that outlook and is a developed expression of it. In what way was Isaianic material used in these circles? Is the usage in Revelations characterized by a particular style or method of treatment? Did Isaiah provide germinal motifs, or material for the elaboration of previously conceived thoughts? Can the usage in Revelations be used to illumine the process which took place in the eschatological framework which seems to stand behind much of the New Testament? Let us proceed with our discussion, in an effort to arrive at some answers to these questions. Since all references will be to the Revelation, only the chapter and verse reference will be given in the heading of each section.

18:6. In the section dealing with the doom and punishment of Babylon, the author says, "Render to her as she herself has rendered, and repay her double for her deeds; mix a double draught for her in the cup she mixed." In the reference to the "double punishment" Nestle[406] suggests a possible reference to Isaiah 40:2.

To begin with, it should be noted that this passage owes a great deal to Jeremiah 50:15,29 and to Psalm 137:8,9. Both of these sources speak of the destruction of Babylon, and the application of the lex talionis by God. Yet neither speaks of

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[406]Nestle, op. cit., p. 646.

a double revenge. Is this element due to Second Isaiah? At first glance, it seems improbable, since the usage of 40:2 would reverse the application, from the exiled Israel to the captors. Yet this reversal would be entirely compatible with the outlook of apocalyptic. Although the allusion cannot be proved beyond doubt, it appears to be likely. The "double portion" is clear in Second Isaiah. Isaiah 40:2, combined with Isaiah 47:6 and the lex talionis, could easily result in this allusion.

The thorough-going interpretation, modification, application, and fusion which seems to lie behind this allusion should be noted. Significantly, this factor will be noted repeatedly in our study of the allusions to Second Isaiah in the Revelation.

22:7,12. These verses express the imminent coming of the Lord Jesus in judgement and deliverance. Verse 22:7 reads, "And behold, I am coming soon (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ)"; 22:12 reads, "Behold, I am coming soon, bringing my recompense (ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ'ἐμοῦ), to repay every one for what he has done." In both of these verses, Nestle[407] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 40:10, "Behold, the Lord God comes with might, and his arm rules for him; behold, his reward is with him, and his recompense before him." In the LXX version, the relevant portion reads,

ἰδοὺ κύριος μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται....
ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ....

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[407]Nestle, ibid., p. 656.

To the two verses in Revelations given above may be added 3:11.

It seems entirely likely that here in these verses we have an authentic allusion to Second Isaiah. The presence of the demonstrative particle ἰδού (for הִנֵּה), the identity of verb, and the note of recompense found in Rev. 22:12 supports this contention. As may be suspected, the phrases from Isaiah 40:10 have been thoroughly reworked, in order to express the apocalyptic outlook of the Revelations. How has this come about? One would suspect that other passages have been fused with Isaiah 40:10, passages which themselves are much more eschatological. In II Thessalonians 1:8 the presence of Isaiah 66:15 has been noted and discussed; it is likely that the same verse is present in these phrases in Revelation. The verse is strongly apocalyptic, and may have furnished one of the starting points for New Testament apocalyptic thought: "For behold, the Lord will come in fire, and his chariots like the stormwind, to render his anger in fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire." To these verses may be added Isaiah 62:12, "Say to the daughter of Zion, 'Behold, your salvation comes; behold, his reward is with him, and his recompense before him.'"

The application of these verses is apt, once the identification of Jesus the Risen One with the Lord of Second Isaiah was established. As we view the material in the Revelation, the identification seems to have been made long before, and to be one of the unassailable elements in the tradition. In our discussion above of Isaiah 53:1 in John 12:17,18, the phrase "and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed" was taken to infer not only that "the Lord" in John's

view was the Risen Lord Jesus but also that "the arm of the Lord" referred to the mighty works wrought by and through Jesus in his ministry. If by John's time such an inference could be made concerning the significance of the "signs" wrought by Jesus, how much more likely is it that in the apocalyptic circles which seem in part to lie behind John's gospel the same identification should be present with the phrase "his arm rules for him" in Isaiah 40:10 signifying his mighty acts of judgment when he comes again, much as visualized in Isaiah 66:15,16. Whether this suggestion is accepted or not, the identification of Jesus as the Lord of Second Isaiah is present in the Revelation, and most likely in this allusion.

Again it is worthwhile to briefly note the manner in which different verses from Isaiah, and elsewhere, have been fused under the influence of apocalyptic imagery.

12:14. This verse is found in the section dealing with the woman being pursued by the dragon; the verse reads, "But the woman was given the two wings of the great eagle that she might fly from the serpent into the wilderness, . . ." Nestle[408] suggests that this is an allusion to Isaiah 40:31, ". . .they shall mount up with wings as eagles, . . ."

This possibility is only that. If this is an allusion to Isaiah 40:31, the author has done little more than borrow the imagery from Isaiah. If not, the allusion may be to Exodus 19:4,

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[408]Nestle, ibid., p. 636.

"Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings and brought you unto myself." There is a possibility that the "eagle" is intended to be definite; if so, then the imagery may have some non-Biblical source.

14:3. This verse concerns the "new song" to the Lamb, a phrase which Nestle[409] suggests as an allusion to Isaiah 42:10. It seems that this suggestion can neither be proved, nor disproven. Isaiah 42:10 falls in a section which was clearly a source for early Christian interpretation, both apocalyptic and non-apocalyptic. Yet in many other places the same phrase occurs, e.g., Psalm 33:3, 40:3, 96:1, 98:1, 144:9, 149:1. The evidence therefore is by no means conclusive, and the suggestion of Nestle may not be accepted with certainty.

21:5. This verse reads, "And he who sat upon the throne said, 'Behold, I make all things new.'" In the phrase, "Behold I make . . .things new," Dodd[410] sees an allusion to Isaiah 43:19, "Behold, I am doing a new thing. . ." The LXX of Isaiah 43:19 reads ἰδοὺ ποιῶ καινὰ, whereas the New Testament has ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα . The similarity between the two phrases is obvious. On the basis of this similarity, it may be granted that an allusion is present.

In II Corinthians 5:17, the suggestion has been made that Paul is utilizing Isaiah 43:19 for his purposes. In the above

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[409] Ibid., p. 639.

[410] Dodd, op. cit., p. 90.

discussion of this suggestion, it was concluded that although Paul was well aware of this particular passage, he was reflecting instead 42:9 in II Corinthians. This conclusion was arrived at partially on the basis of the observation that Paul was concerned in II Corinthians not with general renewal but with individual renewal. The Apocalypse, however, is concerned with the renewal of all things. Isaiah 43:19 is appropriate, but even more so are the promises and assertions concerning cosmic renewal in Isaiah 65:17 and elsewhere. We may be fairly certain that this passage was also in the mind of the author of Revelation.

1:8,17; 2:8; 21:6; 22:13. In several cases in the Revelations one motif is taken up, assimilated, and repeatedly presented in slightly different form. In these verses, the first such motif will be considered. Nestle suggests that in these verses are allusions to Isaianic phrases contained in Isaiah 44:6 and 48:12. For comparison's sake, these passages will be set side by side.

Isaiah 44:6 (MT)

כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְגֹאֲלוֹ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת
אֲנִי רִאשׁוֹן וַאֲנִי אַחֲרוֹן
וּמִבַּלְעָדַי אֵין אֱלֹהִים

Revelation 1:8

Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ,
λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός,
ὁ ὢν
καὶ ὁ ἦν
καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος,
ὁ παντογράτωρ

Isaiah 44:6 (LXX)

οὕτως λέγει ὁ θεὸς
ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ισραηλ
ὁ ῥυσάμενος αὐτὸν
θεὸς σαβαωθ
Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ
μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν ἐμοῦ
οὐκ ἔστι θεός

Revelation 1:17

μὴ φοβοῦ
ἐγώ εἰμι
ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος

Revelation 2:8

τάδε λέγει ὁ πρῶτος
καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος...

Isaiah 48:12c,d (MT)

אֲנִי־הוּא אֲנִי רִאשׁוֹן
אַף אֲנִי אַחֲרוֹן׃

Revelation 21:6

ἐγω (A lat adds εἰμι) τὸ
ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ,
ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος

Isaiah 48:12c,d (LXX)

ἐγώ εἰμι πρῶτος,
καὶ εγώ εἰμι εἰς τὸν
αἰῶνα,...

Revelation 22:13

ἐγὼ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ,
ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος,
ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος

The affinity between the New Testament text and the LXX is evident, yet the readings are not identical. It seems clear that the N. T. owes as much to the Hebrew as to the LXX version. This is suggested by the fact that in none of the instances in the LXX does the phrase ὁ ἔσχατος appear, yet this is a good equivalent for אַחֲרוֹן. It may be assumed, therefore, that behind Revelations stands either a knowledge of Hebrew itself or another Greek translation, perhaps one arising from the Christian community out of which the Apocalypse has arisen.

The phrase "I am the first and I am the last" is of great importance in Second Isaiah, for it is the vivid expression of Yahweh's transcendence over time. This meaning is crystal clear in the context of Isaiah 44:6; in Isaiah 48:12 the phrases stand

with the powerful asservation, "I am He." Yahweh is revealed as the "Lord of beginning and Lord of end and an eternal God; the only God beside whom there is none other."[411] An awareness of this meaning is an absolute necessity for an understanding of the N. T. applications.

From the parallel phrases in Revelations, it is possible to observe immediately that the author of Revelations -- or his source -- understands this meaning. The peculiarly Greek equivalent is found in the phrase "the A and the Ω," a phrase fraught with meaning in the Hellenistic world.[412] In Rev. 21:6 and 22:13 the phrase is further paralleled by the phrase "the beginning and the end," and in 1:8 by "he who is and was and is to come." In all of these, the temporal and historical scope of the phrase "the first and the last" becomes quite clear.

The striking aspect of the New Testament usage is the application of this phrase. It would not be unusual for the author to appropriate this phrase for God the Father. This is precisely what he does in 1:8, which is demonstrated by the title "Almighty"[413] and the phrase "who is and who was and who is to come."[414] The subject seems also to be God the Father in 21:6,

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[411] James Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapter 40-66 (Introduction and Exegesis)," op. cit., p. 506; see also p. 451.

[412] Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 1, note, "The two came to designate the universe and every kind of divine and demonic power."

[413] See 15:3; 16:7,14; 19:6.

[414] See 1:4.

although at this point ambiguity enters. This interpretation receives some justification from the phrase "he who sits upon the throne" in 21:5 and the clause "I will be his God and he shall be my son" in 21:7. Rev. 22:12 is even more ambiguous. In this passage the evidence seems to favor Jesus the Risen One as the subject. This interpretation is supported by the reference to his imminent coming and judgment of the evil-doers in 22:12. In addition, the general context should be noted. It is the angel who is speaking these words, apparently quoting the one who sent him, who is identical with the subject of 22:13. In 22:16, we find the words, "I Jesus have sent my angel to you with this testimony for the churches." Thus Jesus is to be taken as the subject of 22:13. This interpretation is entirely in keeping with the plea "Come" found in verse 17, and with the phrase "Come, Lord Jesus!" of 22:20. Even though there is room for disagreement concerning the application of this Isaianic phrase in these three passages, there can be absolutely none in the last two. In 1:17, the "one like a son of man" said, "Fear not, I am the first and the last, and the living one; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades." The note of death and resurrection could only apply to Jesus the Risen One. The same is true of 2:8, "And to the angel of the church in Smyrna write: 'The words of the first and the last, who died and came to life.'" Clearly in these verses, the phrase which in Second Isaiah could only be applied to Yahweh is applied directly

to Jesus the Risen One.

The inferences which can be drawn from this application are important. Chiefly, the application means nothing else than that Jesus the Risen One has the full status of God Himself. This is another expression of the full identification of the Lord Jesus with the Lord of Second Isaiah.

12:12; 18:20. In these verses, Nestle[415] sees the possibility of an allusion either to Isaiah 44:23 (εὐθράνθητε, οὐρανοί) or to Isaiah 49:13 (εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοῦ). How may we assess this suggestion? It may be said that an allusion in Rev. 18:20, "Rejoice over her, O heaven," spoken of the fall of Babylon, cannot be demonstrated with certainty. Yet 12:12, εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοί, seems to be a clear allusion to Isaiah 49:13. Portions of Isaiah 49:10 -- it will be demonstrated below -- are used elsewhere in the Revelation. It is therefore not unlikely that this phrase from 49:13 was also appropriated; the identity of phrasing between the N. T. and the LXX in itself is tenuous evidence, but together with the above is of some value. This question will be further discussed below.

16:12. Nestle[416] sees in this verse a possible allusion to Isaiah 44:27 as well as to others. After some examination it seems reasonable to reject this suggestion, and instead to consider the "drying up of the river Euphrates" as a likely allusion to

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[415] Nestle, op. cit., pp. 636, 648.

[416] Ibid., p. 644.

Isaiah 11:15.

3:9. To the church in Sardis, the Risen Lord says, "Behold, I will make those of the synagogue of Satan who say that they are Jews and are not, but lie -- behold, I will make them come and bow down before your feet, and learn that I have loved you." Nestle[417] sees in the clause "I will make them come and bow down before your feet" a possible allusion to Isaiah 45:14, 49:23, and/or 60:14. Since some similarity in phraseology exists between the New Testament passage and these Isaianic passages, the suggestion is not impossible. It should be noted, however, that even more similarity is to be found between the N. T. passage and Psalm 86:9, although identity of phraseology does not exist. Whether or not the author is making use of these passages, it is clear -- if he is doing so -- that he takes the phrases out of context. It seems best to regard the phrase as a reflection of these O. T. passages, although the evidence for this view is inconclusive.

17:16. This verse reads, speaking of the judgment of the great harlot, "And the ten horns that you saw, they and the beast will hate the harlot; they will make her desolate and naked, and devour her flesh and burn her up with fire, . . ." In this verse, Nestle[418] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 47:8f. There is no doubt but that the pictures of fallen Babylon in Isaiah and the fall of Rome in Revelations share common material. However,

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[417] Ibid., p. 619.

[418] Ibid., p. 646.

in this instance no definite linguistic parallels are to be found, and the phrases in Revelations can be accounted for easily as part of the thematic development. An allusion here seems highly unlikely.

18:7,8. Again speaking of the harlot Babylon, and her imminent collapse, we read, in part, "Since in her heart she says (ὅτι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει), 'A queen I sit, I am no widow, mourning I shall never see (χήρα οὐκ εἰμὶ καὶ πένθος οὐ μὴ ἴδω),' so shall her plagues come in a single day (ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἥξουσιν), . . ." In the phrases indicated by the Greek, possible allusions have been perceived to Isaiah 47:8.[419] This verse reads, "Now therefore hear this, you lover of pleasures, who sit securely, who say in your heart (LXX: ἡ λέγουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς), 'I am, and there is no one besides me; I shall not sit as a widow or know the loss of children (LXX: οὐ καθιῶ χήρα οὐδὲ γνώσομαι ὀρφανείαν).'"

It is clear that a relationship between this N. T. passage and Isaiah 47:8 is present. Yet it should be noted that the dependence is not necessarily upon the LXX version. Rather, the variation in phraseology and in the choice of words lend credence to the contention that the Hebrew, and not the LXX, underlies this usage. Thus once again, evidence is present which indicates that the roots of the material in the Apocalypse goes far back into the early stages of the Christian tradition.

It would be well to note also that again the author of Revelation -- or his source -- has appropriated a portion of

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[419] Ibid., p. 647; see also Black, op. cit., p. 237.

Scripture which is relevant to his purpose, and has woven it into the fabric of his thought, with great skill. This trait is apparent repeatedly in the work of John of Patmos.

1:16; 2:12; 19:15. Again we have a motif which recurs repeatedly in this work. All three instances speak of the Risen One as the one from whose mouth "issued a sharp two-edged sword." In this phrase, an allusion has been suggested[420] to Isaiah 49:2, where the servant speaks of Yahweh's actions, saying, "He made my mouth like a sharp sword, . . ."

This passage has been discussed above with respect to the metaphor of "the armor of God" found in Ephesians 6:17, at which time it was conceded that Isaiah 49:2 might stand behind this metaphor. It seems highly unlikely, however, that this same verse stands behind this phrase now under discussion. This evaluation receives support not only from the two contexts but also from the phrase itself. In Isaiah, it is the servant who is speaking, who sometimes obediently carries out God's will. In the Revelation, on the other hand, the phrase is but one of many describing the cosmic, all-powerful Christ whose coming for judgment is imminent. This phrase, in the words of Martin Rist, is "an ominous presage of his advent from heaven (ch. 19) as a mighty warrior who will slay his enemies with this sword and

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[420]Nestle, ibid., pp. 615, 616, 650; also C. C. Torrey, Documents of the Primitive Church (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1941), p. 203.

rule them with a rod of iron."[421] This conviction is reflected elsewhere in the New Testament, e.g., II Thessalonians 2:8, as well as in some of the apocryphal literature.[422] Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Isaiah 49:2 stands behind this phrase. Rather, Isaiah 11:4 seems much more likely.

7:16,17. This passage is of great importance for the study of citations and allusions in the Revelation, for it is the closest that this document comes to quoting Second Isaiah. In addition, it falls in a section which is of great beauty, which anticipates the final victory of the Lord God and the Lamb and the servants of God. Due to the importance of the passage, the LXX and the NT will be set side by side, together with the MT.

Isaiah 49:10 LXX	Isaiah 49:10 MT	NT
οὐ πεινάσουσιν	לֹא יִרְעָבוּ	οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι
οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν	וְלֹא יִצְמָאוּ	οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι
οὐδὲ πατάξει αὐτοὺς	וְלֹא־יַכֵּם שָׁרָב	οὐδὲ μὴ πέσῃ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
καύσων οὐδὲ ὁ ἥλιος,	וְשָׁמֶשׁ	ὁ ἥλιος οὐδὲ πᾶν καῦμα,
ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτοὺς	כִּי־מְרַחֲמָם	ὅτι τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου
παρακαλέσει	יְנַהֲגֵם	ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς

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[421] Martin Rist, "The Revelation of St. John the Divine (Introduction and Exegesis)," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by G. A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), Vol. XII, p. 376; see also pp. 385, 514-515.

[422] II Esdras 13:9-13; I Enoch 62:2, cited by Rist, loc. cit.

καὶ διὰ πηγῶν ὑδατῶν וְעַל-מַבּוּעֵי מָיִם καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς
ἄξει αὐτούς יְנַהֲלֵם ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς
ὑδάτων

As can be readily observed, the LXX closely follows the MT, not only in regard to meaning but also with respect to sentence structure. In several respects, the NT differs from both the LXX and the MT. Structurally, these changes may be noted: a) the transposition of the words "wind" and "sun," b) the transposition of the verbal phrase and the objective phrase in the last clause, and c) the provision of an object for the NT equivalent of יְנַהֲגֵם. With regard to this last modification, it may be suggested that the NT renders this Hebrew term with a word more appropriate than the LXX. Two alterations in thought are important. First, for the phrase "he who has mercy" the NT reads "the Lamb in the midst of the throne," a phrase which though strange indicates the high place that the Risen One has in the relationship between God and the saints. Secondly, instead of "springs of water" the NT reads "springs of living water"; the term ζωῆς as partially discussed above with reference to the usage found in the Gospel of John, is clearly a Christian term. After considering these modifications, it may be inferred that again in this passage we have either an independent rendering of the Hebrew or another Greek version in the background.

The source of this allusion, and the interpretative method revealed in it, is of great importance. The RSV prints the

material as hymnic, yet Nestle prints it as prose. The structure reveals little concerning its origin. Whether the material be regarded as liturgical or cultic, or the composition of the author or someone within his circle, its affinity with the material in chapters 21 and 22 is evident, not only from the comforting meaning of the allusion, but also from the phrase "God will wipe away every tear from their eyes" which immediately follows. In this allusion, as elsewhere in this document, the method of assimilation is followed in the application of this Old Testament material. No citation formula is given, and -- except in a few instances -- little close affinity between phrases and words is present. Rather, material is lifted from Isaiah, either in or out of context, applied to the particular purpose of the author, modified and altered as necessary, and fused with other material. This process, one would suspect, is not the result of scholarly activity, but of intense meditation and reflection, fostered in part by the hymnic and liturgical practice of worship within the community. Material drawn from the Old Testament, tempered and cultivated often within the community, has become white-hot under the fires of persecution and prophetic perception. This process, as we see it revealed in the Apocalypse, is quite different from processes discerned elsewhere in the New Testament, though it may stand behind other NT documents.

Yet one more comment should be made before moving on. The identification of Jesus the Risen One with the Lord of Second Isaiah has been repeatedly noted. It is a striking fact that the title

"Lord" is so often avoided in the Apocalypse. Although at this point in this paper we cannot enter into a full discussion of this usage, we may note the usage in this specific instance. Isaiah 49:1-13 formed one of the most fertile sources in Second Isaiah for NT interpretation. At least eight citations and allusions from these thirteen verses have been noted in our discussions. Six of these eight instances occurred in documents which did not hesitate to refer to Jesus the Risen One as the κύριος. By the usage of Isaiah 49:10, it would seem that John of Patmos -- or his sources -- accepted this identification, for definitely the One concerning whom these words are uttered is the Risen One, although in conjunction with the presence of the Almighty. Yet the Revelation, as we shall see, avoids the usage of this title.

16:6. This verse reads, "For men have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink. It is their due!" The first part seems to be an allusion to Psalm 79:3, "They have poured out their [the saints] blood like water . . .," although it is also evident that this portion is a historical reflection. Nestle[423] suggests that the second part alludes to Isaiah 49:26ab, "I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh, and they shall be drunk with their own blood as with wine." Although the context in Isaiah is redemption and in Revelation vengeance, the suggestion is not implausible. Yet no convincing evidence for its probability seems to be present.

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[423]Nestle, op. cit., p. 642.

14:10; 16:19. Nestle[424] indicates a possible allusion to Isaiah 51:17 in both of these NT verses. Especially in question is the phrase "the cup of his wrath" (LXX: τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ θυμοῦ). In Rev. 14:10, in a passage spoken in reference to those who "worship the beast," is found the phrase, "he also shall drink the wine of God's wrath (ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ), poured unmixed (ἀκράτου) into the cup (ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ) of his anger (τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ). Rev. 16:19, referring to the destruction of Babylon, reads, in part, ". . .and God remembered great Babylon, to make her drain the cup of the fury of his wrath (τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ)." The context in Isaiah and Revelation is very different, since in Isaiah the phrase is uttered in regard to the past experience of the Israelites, whereas in Revelations it is a symbol of the vengeance of the Lord upon his enemies. A much closer parallel is found in Jeremiah 25:15, "For thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, unto me: Take this cup of the wine of fury at My hand (LXX: τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου τούτου ἐκ χειρός μου), and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it." Not only is the linguistic affinity complete between Jeremiah 25:15 and the passages in the Apocalypse, but the context is the same, for in Jeremiah also the phrase is a symbol of the vengeance of the Lord upon his enemies, whose destruction is indicated not only by this verse but in verses 25:14,16ff. The allusion is therefore to Jeremiah rather than Isaiah.

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[424] Ibid., pp. 639, 644.

21:2,10; 21:27. Each of these verses concern the "new Jerusalem." The first passage speaks of "the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; . . ." The second in similar terms tells of "the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God, . . ." The third declares that "nothing unclean shall enter it, nor any one who practices abomination or falsehood." In all of these allusions have been detected to both Isaiah 52:1 and perhaps 61:10. The latter, 61:10, presents the simile of the bride and the bridegroom. Isaiah 52:1 reads as follows,

> Awake, awake, put on your strength, O Zion;
> put on your beautiful garments,
> O Jerusalem, the holy city;
> for there shall no more come into you
> the uncircumcised and the unclean.

In this passage, in Isaiah 48:2, and in Joel 3:17, Jerusalem -- cleansed and transformed -- is called "the holy city." These passages probably provide the sources for the title in the Revelation of John.

It would seem that again we have an instance of the fusion of several scriptural passages, which in turn makes possible the development of an apocalyptic motif. We shall see that other passages are selected for the development of the motif of the "new Jerusalem." In our discussion of Galatians 4:26 above, it was demonstrated that this motif lies behind Paul and the author of Hebrews; in both of these writers, however, the motif has become in part dormant and in part subordinated to other themes. In the Apocalypse of John it comes into full expression.

Some of the most moving passages of the Revelation concerns the "new Jerusalem." These we will have opportunity to consider shortly.

18:4. This verse, in part, reads, "Come out of her, my people (ἐξέλθατε ὁ λαός μου ἐξ αὐτῆς) . . ." The statement, made by a "voice from heaven," immediately follows the initial announcement of the fall of Babylon. In this phrase, an allusion to Isaiah 48:20 and/or 52:11 has been suggested.[425] In the former passage is found this phrase, "Go forth from Babylon, flee from Chaldea, . . ."; the latter reads, "Depart, depart, go out thence (ἀπόστητε ἀπόστητε, ἐξέλθατε ἐκεῖθεν), touch no unclean thing, go out from the midst of her (ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς), . . ."

It is well to weigh the evidence both for and against this suggestion. In favor of this suggestion is the citation of Isaiah 52:11 in II Corinthians 6:17, a passage which -- as indicated above -- originated in eschatological circles with close affinities to those which gave rise to the material in Revelations. This is relatively strong support for the contention. In addition, the latter source occurs in a section which was thoroughly applied to the problem of Christian interpretation in the early church. Against this suggestion stands similar material in Jeremiah 50:8, 51:6,9,45, passages which are drawn from sections which were also of great value to the author of the Apocalypse. Nevertheless, the burden of proof would favor the suggestion that in Revelation 18:4 is to be found an allusion to Second

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[425] Nestle, ibid., p. 646; Torrey, op. cit., p. 217.

Isaiah, especially to 52:11.

5:6,12; 13:8. Nestle[426] suggests that in these passages the image of the slain but victorious Lamb is to be interpreted as allusions to Isaiah 53:7, "like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, . . ."

The image of the "Lamb of God" has been discussed above in reference to John 1:29 and I Peter 1:19. In these instances it was suggested that the source for the usage is not Isaiah 53:7, which is a marvelous illustration of humiliation, but Exodus, specifically the passages dealing with the Paschal Lamb, the instrument of deliverance from death. Primarily this seems true as well of this usage. This source, and the chief reason for the implementation of this image by John of Patmos, is well-stated by Martin Rist,

> More likely . . .it was inspired by the account in Exodus of the Passover lamb whose blood saved the first-born of the Israelites from death. For John considers that God's miraculous deliverance of the Jews from their Egyptian oppressors after a series of devastating plagues was the prophetic prototype of the coming liberation of the Christians, the new Israel, from their Roman persecutors, after a series of similar destructive woes. In addition, the Passover lamb, which was instrumental in this deliverance, is considered as the archetype of Christ, through whose blood the Christians are to be saved.[427]

Thus the concept of the Paschal Lamb fits into the overall plan of the Apocalypse. The usage of the term ἀρνίον instead of

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[426] Nestle, ibid., pp. 622, 623.

[427] Martin Rist, op. cit., p. 407.

ἀμνός only adds evidence in favor of this view. It is possible, of course, that Isaiah 53:7 entered into this imagery in a secondary way, and thus may be retained as a possible allusion. However, the primary allusion seems in all probability to be to the Paschal lamb.

14:5. Describing the 144,000 who had been redeemed, the author of the Revelation says, in part, ". . .and in their mouth no lie was found (καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐκ εὑρέθα ψεῦδος), . . ." In this phrase, Nestle[428] sees a possible allusion to the description of the servant in Isaiah 53:9, ". . .and there was no deceit in his mouth (. . .οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ)."

On first inspection, this suggestion is not unlikely. However, the re-application of this phrase to apply not to the servant but to the redeemed causes some suspicions to arise. The suggestion is less likely when one considers that other sources for this phrase are much closer at hand, sources which could not unnaturally be applied to the "redeemed." In Psalm 32:1,2 are found these words, the last of which would suggest themselves as appropriate.

> Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven,
> whose sin is covered.
> Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputes no iniquity,
> and in whose spirit there is no deceit (LXX: οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος).

To this passage may be added Zephaniah 3:13, ". . .those who are left in Israel; they shall do no wrong and utter no lies, nor shall there be found in their mouth a deceitful tongue." To

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[428]Nestle, op. cit., p. 639.

these latter two passages the relevant phrase in Rev. 14:5 almost certainly alludes.

21:18f. This passage is the second concerning the "new Jerusalem" with which we will deal. In the description of the precious stones which formed the foundations and the walls of the new Jerusalem, Nestle[429] rightly suggests a dependence upon Isaiah 54:11. The motif of a glorified Jerusalem, the city of the new Israel, presently existing in heaven and shortly to come down to earth, forms an important part not only of the thought of the Apocalypse but also of the thought of apocalyptic in general. A similar description may be found in Tobit 13:16.

So far as can be determined, only Second Isaiah in the Old Testament contains such a description of the "new Jerusalem." Not even in the latter chapters -- which are far more semi-apocalyptic -- is such a description found. It seems clear that for Second Isaiah the description of the restored and glorified Jerusalem was either a metaphorical description or a semi-literal expectation. In any event, the various stones did not seem to have symbolic significance. On the other hand, for the author of the Revelation symbolic significance was present. Not only did the author greatly expand the description, but apparently provides cryptic allusions to passages of significance for his readers. First, the twelve stones in the Old Testament adorned the breastplate of the high priest as given in Exodus 28:17-21 and

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[429] Ibid., p. 655.

39:10-14; thus the presence of these stones would have meaning for the "holiness" of the new Jerusalem. Secondly, the stones are engraved, not as in the O. T. with the twelve tribes, but with the twelve apostles, thus again attempting to show that the faithful Christians are the true Israel.[430]

If these symbolic allusions be granted, that once again the author's peculiar skill in fusing different passages from the O. T. is clear. In this case, the basic concept and motif is provided by Isaiah 54:11-12, which in turn is elaborated and embellished with the material drawn from Exodus 28 and 39.

21:6; 22:17. The first of these verses is part of a promise made by the one "who sat upon the throne," "To the thirsty I will give water without price from the fountain of the water of life (ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν)." The second verse contains the same motif; here we find these words addressed to the coming One, "The Spirit and the Bride say, 'Come.' And let him who hears say, 'Come.' And let him who is thirsty come, let him who desires take the water of life without price." In this motif of the "water of life" Nestle[431] detects an allusion to Isaiah 55:1.

This motif of the "water of life" -- signifying "salvation" -- was widespread in Jewish and early Christian circles. In our

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[430]So Martin Rist, op. cit., p. 537, citing R. H. Charles, The Revelation of St. John, II, pp. 165-169.

[431]Nestle, op. cit., pp. 653, 657.

discussions above on John 7:37-39, 4:10-15, and 6:35, all of which contain this motif, it was demonstrated on one hand that the motif could not be traced to any specific passage in Second Isaiah, although 43:20, 44:3, 49:10, 55:1f., and 58:11 may be in part reflected in it. However, in the case of the Revelation, we can be more definite. It was noted just above, in our discussion of Revelation 7:16,17, that in these verses Isaiah 49:10 is almost cited. This passage was analysed at some length at that time. In that allusion, the Lamb is spoken of as the shepherd of the redeemed, who "shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more," who will be guided by the Lamb to "springs of living water." The addition of the word "living" was noted at that time. We can be quite sure, therefore, that a part of the basis for the motif of the "water of life" is to be found in Isaiah 49:10. In addition, we can be quite sure also that Isaiah 55:1 was also interpreted. In both Rev. 21:6 and 22:17 the "water of life" is offered "without price." Only in Isaiah 55:1 are these gracious terms explicit. If the phrase has an O. T. source -- as it probably does -- then Isaiah 55:1 is certainly that source.

1:5. In the salutation of the Revelation is included this phrase, ". . .and from Jesus Christ the faithful witness (ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός), the first-born of the dead, and the ruler of kings on earth." In the phrase in parenthesis, Nestle[432] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 55:4. In this verse, the Lord God is speaking

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[432] Ibid., p. 613.

concerning David, "Behold, I made him a witness (μαρτύριον) to the peoples, . . ."

In favor of this suggestion, it may be noted that the verse immediately preceding is cited in Acts in reference to the Risen Christ, a fact which gives some credence to the suggestion that this epithet is taken from this portion of Second Isaiah. On the other hand, several aspects speak strongly against the validity of this allusion. First, it is entirely possible that as far as Second Isaiah is concerned the similarity may be a linguistic coincidence. Even more important, there are indications that the allusion is to Psalm 89:37. Like Isaiah, the context in this Psalm concerns David and the certainty of the Davidic covenant. Verses 36,37a read, "His line shall endure for ever, his throne as long as the sun before me. Like the moon it shall be established for ever; . . ." Verse 37b is emended in modern versions to read "it shall stand firm while the skies endure." However, both the MT and the LXX read, "the witness in the skies is sure (LXX: καὶ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός)." It is not at all unlikely that the early Christians failed to make this emendation, and accepted the reading of either the MT or the LXX or both. The title μάρτυς for God is clearly present elsewhere in the LXX, e.g., 43:10,12, so we may be sure that even at that time the Hebrew of Psalm 89:37 would make sense. In their minds, Yahweh says that his promise is supported not only by the permanence of his creation but by his unwavering, faithful presence. Either the author of Revelation or his source apparently appropriated this title for

Jesus, probably from this Psalm; the title in turn was given still greater meaning by the fires of the contemporary persecutions and by the authentic experiences of Jesus himself, both as witness and as martyr. That this epithet was taken from this Psalm is further supported by the fact that, in Psalm 89:27, the phrase "the first-born of the dead" finds its counterpart in "I will make him the first-born," and the phrase "the ruler of kings on earth" finds its equivalent in "the highest of the kings of the earth." It is Psalm 89, therefore, and not Isaiah 54:4, that is the source for this title.

14:13. "And I heard a voice from heaven saying, 'Write this: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord henceforth.' 'Blessed indeed,' says the Spirit, 'that they may rest from their labors, for their deeds follow them.'" In this final clause, Nestle[433] sees a possible allusion to Isaiah 57:2, ". . .(the righteous man) . . .he enters into peace; they rest in their beds who walk in their uprighteness."

It is difficult to see any evidence of an allusion to this verse in Rev. 14:13. No linguistic affinities are evident. The thought is only remotely similar. Nestle's suggestion should therefore be rejected.

21:11,23; 22:5. Nestle[434] mentions Isaiah 58:8, and 60:1,2,9 as possible sources for the motif of the "glory of God"

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[433] Ibid., p. 640.

[434] Ibid., p. 654.

in these passages. In all the passages in the Revelation, the phrase is associated with the "new Jerusalem." Yet only in Isaiah 60:9 is the motif associated with the "new Jerusalem" in Isaiah. It is clear, therefore, that if Isaiah 58:8 and 60:1,2 are reflected in these NT passages, it is only by extension of meaning from the basic passage, Isaiah 60:9. It seems best to reserve discussion of this passage until one of the following discussions, since other parts of it as well appear elsewhere in the Revelation.

21:25,26. Another element in the description of the "new Jerusalem" is added in these verses, ". . .and its gates shall never be shut by day (καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας), for there shall be no night there." It has been suggested by both Dodd[435] and Nestle[436] that this verse contains an allusion to Isaiah 60:11, "Your gates shall be open continually (LXX: καὶ ἀνοιχθήσονται αἱ πύλαι σου διά πάντος), day and night they shall not be shut (ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς οὐ κλεισθήσονται); that men may bring to you the wealth of the nations with their kings led in procession."

It is obvious that there is a relationship between these two verses. The view expressed in the Revelation, "for there shall be no night there," reflects the statement made in the previous verses, which we shall discuss shortly. The clause "they shall bring into it the glory and the honor of the nations" in

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[435]Dodd, op. cit., p. 95.

[436]Nestle, op. cit., pp. 613, 623.

part reflects the latter half of Isaiah 60:11, but in addition other verses, e.g., 60:13a: "The glory of Lebanon shall come to you." The Revelation reveals in this instance yet another case of the selection and interpretation of a particular passage in the eschatological section of Second Isaiah which deals with the "new Jerusalem."

1:6; 5:10; 20:6. All of these passages contain phrases which speak of the "redeemed" as "priests," a motif which Nestle considers to be a possible allusion to Isaiah 61:6, ". . .but you shall be called the priests of the Lord (ὑμεῖς δὲ ἱερεῖς κυρίου κληθήσεσθε), . . ." Rev. 1:5,6 reads, in part, ". . .To him who . . . made us a kingdom (βασιλείαν[437]), priests to his God and Father (ἱερεῖς[438] τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ), . . ." Rev. 5:10, a section of the new song before the Lamb, reads, ". . .(for thou). . . hast made them a kingdom (βασιλείαν[439]) and priests to our God (ἱερεῖς[440] [preceded by] τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν), and they shall reign on earth." The third passage is spoken of those who share in the first resurrection, and reads, in part, ". . .they shall be priests of God and of Christ (ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ), and they shall reign with him a thousand years."

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[437] Minusculi 046, 69, al. read βασιλειον; Codex P, Minuscule 1, al., read βασιλεις και.

[438] Minusculi 42, 69 read ιερατευμα.

[439] The Koine group, Codex P, and numerous other MSS. read βασιλεις.

[440] Codex ℵ reads ιερατειαν.

What relationship, if any, exists between these passages and Isaiah 61:6? The best case for an allusion can be made with respect to Revelation 20:6, a passage which Nestle does not recognize as a possible allusion. In this passage the text is certain, and not only is the word "priests" the same, but "Christ," corresponding to the term "Lord" in the LXX version of Isaiah, is present. Yet this verse may be regarded as the same motif which is present in Revelation 1:6 and 5:10.

In these verses, there are good indications that the allusion is not to Isaiah but to Exodus. In the discussions above of the allusions in I Peter 2:5,9 it was indicated that the same motif in that document is dependent upon Exodus 19:6 and the LXX of Exodus 23:22. In that case, I Peter seems to be reflecting with clarity the LXX rendering of the Hebrew. In the instance of Revelations, however, it will be suggested that it is not the LXX, but the Hebrew -- and a non-Masoretic text at that -- which lies behind the N. T. allusions.

It may be noted that in Rev. 1:6 and 5:10 the term "priests" stands in juxaposition to the term "kingdom," and that even in Rev. 20:6 the motif of "kingdom" is reflected in the phrase "and they shall reign with him a thousand years." This juxaposition of "kingdom" and "priests" is not accidental, but goes back to the Hebrew text of Exodus 19:6. In this verse, a part of an address by Yahweh to the children of Israel, the MT reads, ". . .and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests (מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים), and a holy nation." This text is rendered in the

LXX by βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα , a rendering which is clearly reflected in I Peter 2:9. However, in the Syriac manuscripts of the Exodus -- and only in these MSS. -- a variant in the Hebrew is preserved: ". . .and ye shall be unto me a kingdom and priests (מַמְלֶכֶת וְכֹהֲנִים)." Quite clearly this text underlies the Greek phrases in these verses in Revelations. It also seems clear that at least some of the variants in Revelations indicate an awareness of this passage, and even of this text. In Revelation 1:6, for instance, Minusculi 046, 42, and especially 69 seek to bring the phrase into conformity with the LXX; in the same verse Codex P, Minuscule 1, and others, seek to improve upon the phrase in Revelations by reading "kings" instead of "kingdom." Codex P and the Koine group seek to improve 5:10 in the same way, whereas Codex Sinaiticus alters "priests" to "priesthood," in order to furnish a reasonable counter-balance to "kingdom."

It may be argued that the readings of the Syriac versions have been assimilated to the phrases in Revelations. This is far from being a convincing argument, not only because of the relative obscurity and the variants in the N. T. but also because of the reverence with which the Pentateuchal text was viewed. It seems far more reasonable to assume that this is a rare instance in which an Hebrew variant has survived in translation, an assumption which receives meaningful support from the Revelation. With respect to the Revelation, this observation signifies that either the author or his sources -- probably the latter -- possessed either the capacity to render this variant Hebrew text or a non-LXX Greek

version which preserved it. Which seems more likely? It may be argued that a person writing in Greek would not tolerate the ambiguity of the phraseology which we find in these verses, but the Semitic style of the Revelation prevents this argument. It would seem more likely to assume that the sources of the author worked directly with the Hebrew, and with -- in this case -- a textual tradition different from the MT.

2:17; 3:12; 19:12,16. In all of these passages, the motif of the "new name" appears. In the first instance, the application is to the faithful servants, "To him who conquers I will give some of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, with a new name written on the stone which no one knows except him who receives it." Again with respect to the faithful ones, the one "like unto a son of man" says, in 3:12, ". . .I will write on him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the New Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name." Again in reference to the Risen Lord, the phrase is applied in 19:12: "His eyes are like a flame of fire, and on his head are many diadems; and he has a name inscribed which no one knows but himself." This name is apparently different from that of 19:13, "The Word of God," and also from that of 19:16, "King of kings and Lord of lords." Since the "new name" of the Risen One is known only to Him, this last title is not to be considered as the revelation of this "new name." Nestle[441]

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[441]Nestle, op. cit., pp. 617, 619, 650.

suggests that this motif is the reflection of Isaiah 62:2 and/or 65:15.

Of the two passages, the latter seems to be alluded to in Revelation 2:17. In Isaiah 65:15, Yahweh is addressing the rebellious ones, "You shall leave your name to my chosen for a curse, . . .but his servants he will call by a different name (LXX: τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ κληθήσεται ὄνομα καινόν)." In Rev. 2:17 this phrase could well be reflected in the words of the Risen One to his faithful servants. Isaiah 62:2, however, is addressed to the "new Jerusalem," "The nations shall see your vindication, and all the kings your glory; and you shall be called by a new name which the mouth of the Lord will give." As Muilenburg notes, "in Jer. 33:16 the new name of Jerusalem in the messianic age is 'Yahweh is our Vindication' (or 'Righteousness')."[442] John of Patmos was quite convinced that the "new Jerusalem" also would have a "new name," since the name was necessary to express the new creation. In the discussion above of Galatians 4:26,27 the motif of the "new Jerusalem" in the Revelation was summarized; at that time, it was demonstrated that the "new name" of the city was derived from Ezekiel 48:35, "The Lord is there (LXX (A,Q): κ̄ς εκεῖ)." In the elaboration of this motif in the Revelation both Isaiah and Ezekiel have played their part.

However, it is difficult to see how either of these passages from Isaiah could be alluded to in the verses from

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[442] James Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 718.

Revelation cited above. It has been noted that 2:17 is dependent upon 65:15. Isaiah 62:2 may be reflected in the motif of the new name for the "new Jerusalem." From what source does the motif of the "new name" of the Risen One come? The problem is perplexing. Martin Rist suggests, with some arguments, that the name -- though not really secret -- is "Jesus," but his argument is not entirely convincing.[443] Whatever the signification of the "new name" of the Risen One, it does not seem to be derived from Isaiah.

19:13. Again we turn to the majestic and powerful description of the appearance of he who is called "The Word of God" and "King of kings and Lord of lords." Rev. 19:13a reads, "He is clad in a robe dipped in (or: sprinkled with) blood, . . ." which Nestle[444] takes to be an allusion to Isaiah 63:1,

> Who is this that comes from Edom,
> in crimsoned garments from Bozrah.
> he that is glorious in his apparel,
> marching in the greatness of his strength?
> "It is I, announcing vindication, mighty to save."

Yet, in spite of the affinity of thought, this may be said against this suggestion. In Isaiah, the garments of crimson clearly have been discolored by the "trodding of the wine press alone" (63:3). This apparently has taken place. In the Revelation, is this the reason for the blood-stained garments of the coming One? It would seem that the reference in Revelation is to the blood of Jesus

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[443] Martin Rist, op. cit., p. 513.

[444] Nestle, op. cit., p. 650.

himself, as it was shed to effect deliverance. The "trodding of the winepress" seems to be yet to come (Rev. 19:15). Yet time-sequence does not necessarily hold in apocalyptic visions, and the blood-stains on the garments may be either Jesus' or those being destroyed, or even both. It would seem that the former has a slightly better case, and is to be preferred, however. The allusion may be considered possible, but by no means probable.

14:20. To this verse should be added 19:15. Rev. 14:19,20 reads, "So the angel swung his sickle on the earth and gathered the vintage of the earth, and threw it into the great wine press of the wrath of God; and the wine press was trodden outside the city, and blood flowed from the wine press, as high as a horse's bridle, for one thousand six hundred stadia." Speaking of the coming one who will judge and destroy, in 19:15 it is said, ". . .he will tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty, . . ." As Nestle[445] suggests, this figure is taken from Isaiah 63:1-3,6. Joel 3:13 and Isaiah alone utilize the figure of the "wine press," but only Isaiah clearly associates the "wrath" and the "fury" of God with it. This passage is therefore another of the sections selected in order to elaborate and express the eschatological events of the last days.

11:2. In this verse, the voice from heaven says of the outer court of the temple, ". . .it is given over to the nations,

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[445]Nestle, ibid., p. 650.

and they will trample over the holy city for forty-two months." In the last clause, Nestle[446] has suggested an allusion to Isaiah 63:18, "Thy holy people possessed thy sanctuary a little while; our adversaries have trodden it down." The same sentiment is found in Psalm 79:1. There seems to be no evidence to support the suggestion that an allusion to Isaiah 63:18 is present here.

20:11; 21:1. The first of these verses express the abolition of the old creation, "Then I saw a great white throne and him who sat upon it; from his presence earth and sky fled away, and no place was found for them." The second of these verses speaks of the new creation, "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more." In these verses, an allusion is present to Isaiah 65:17, and perhaps also to 66:22.[447] Isaiah 65:17 reads, "For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind"; 66:22 repeats the motif of the creation of the "new heaven and the new earth." In addition, it may be suggested that Isaiah 64:1, "O that thou wouldst rend the heavens and come down, . . ." has also entered into the thought behind Revelation, especially in 20:11. In the Revelation the same motif and meaning as we find in Isaiah is present.

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[446] Ibid., p. 632.

[447] So Nestle, ibid., p. 653.

> . . .the redemptive acts of God are reflected in the natural world. . . .The time of salvation for the elect community is ushered in by a new creation. To a new age belong 'new heavens and a new earth.'[448]

In Revelations, this view has been greatly intensified by apocalyptic imagery and a more intense eschatological viewpoint, but basically the meaning is the same.

21:4. In this verse, it is stated that in the "new Jerusalem" "behold, the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself will be with them; he will wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain any more, for the former things have passed away (21:3,4)." In the phrases dealing with the complete removal of sorrow and tears, Nestle[449] suggests the presence of an allusion to Isaiah 65:17,19.

To 21:4 should be added Rev. 7:17, which immediately follows the clear implementation of Isaiah 49:10. This verse reads, ". . .and God will wipe away every tear from their eyes." The affinity with this passage is obvious.

Close examination will reveal that the note of the removal of all tears reflects in its wording primarily Isaiah 25:8 but also Isaiah 35:10. However, the assimilation of Isaiah 65:17 by Revelation and the reference to "former things" makes the

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[448] James Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 754-755.

[449] Nestle, op. cit., p. 653.

reference to Isaiah 65:17,19 probable.

It should be noted that this section of the Revelation is one of the most beautiful sections in the whole book. Many of the elements which appear in this portrayal were based on Second Isaiah. Perhaps others lie just below the surface.

16:1,17. In 16:1, the command to pour on the earth the seven bowls of the wrath of God is uttered by "a loud voice from the temple (μεγάλης φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ [42 reads εκ του ουρανου])"; in 16:17, when the seventh angel had poured out his bowl, "a great voice came out of the temple (ἐξήλθεν φωνὴ μεγάλη [A, 1, al. omit]ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ [1, al., gig reads ουρανου; Koine reads ναου του ουρανου]), from the throne, . . ." In these verses there is a clear reference to Isaiah 66:6,[450]

> Hark, an uproar from the city!
> A voice from the temple (LXX: φωνὴ ἐκ ναοῦ)!
> The voice of the Lord,
> rendering recompense to his enemies!

In Isaiah, this is but another mark of the "day of the Lord," when He comes for judgment and deliverance. Muilenburg suggests that, as in Micah 1:2 and Joel 3:16, Yahweh appears "in glory from his holy dwelling."[451]

The application is different in these verses in the Revelation. As we can determine from the phrase "from the throne" in 16:17, and from the passage dealing with those who

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[450] Nestle, ibid., pp. 642, 643.

[451] Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 764.

"serve him day and night within his temple" "before the throne of God (Rev. 7:15)," the "temple" referred to in Revelation is not the earthly temple, but the "temple" in the "heavenly Jerusalem (11:19)," the dwelling of God, where He awaits the final day, from which He speaks, and from whence He shall come. Either the author of Revelation or his source has taken this phrase and motif from Isaiah, and has altered it to fit the peculiar viewpoint of apocalyptic.

12:3,5. In the section 12:1-6, which Rist entitles the vision of "The Heavenly Mother and the Birth of the Heavenly Messiah," two allusions to Isaiah 66:7 have been suggested.[452] This verse in Isaiah reads, "Before she was in labor she gave birth; before her pain came upon her she was delivered of a son."

In spite of Torrey's messianic interpretation of this passage in Isaiah, James Muilenburg accurately demonstrates that the passage is non-messianic. The meaning is not the birth of the Messiah but the birth of a new people unexpectedly.[453]

However, a messianic element is definitely present in Revelation 12:1-6; the phrase "she brought forth a male child, one who is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron, . . ." makes this clear.

Is there a relationship between these verses in the Revelation and Isaiah? On the one hand, it may be said that several of the

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[452] Nestle, op. cit., p. 632; C. C. Torrey, op. cit., p. 201.

[453] Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 765.

thoughts are similar. On the other hand, the extreme amount of astral symbolism and apocalyptic imagery almost excludes the possibility of a dependence upon Isaiah 66. The myth of the birth of a heavenly babe was widespread in the ancient world, the close parallel being the similar story involving Isis, Osiris, and the beast Set-Typhon. In one variant, Isis uses wings to fly away from the beast, an element which may be reflected in Revelation 12:14. In any case the view expressed by Martin Rist seems correct:

> It has long been recognized that this scene, which is not derived from any known Jewish source, must be based upon a rather widespread myth of the divine child whose destruction is sought by those whose power he threatens, this myth being coupled with some astral speculation. The Greek story of the birth of Apollo has been cited . . .even closer since it combines the astral motif, is that of the birth of Horus . . .Some variation of this myth of the birth of the sacred babe interwoven with astrology lies at the base of John's account.[454]

Thus Isaiah 66:7 does not seem to be involved.

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[454]Martin Rist, op. cit., p. 452.

CHAPTER IV

TEXTUAL IMPLICATIONS FOR LXX STUDIES

As a by-product of the general analysis of citations and allusions conducted above, several relevant textual problems may now be considered.

In this section, answers to the following questions will be sought. First, what relationship exists between the NT texts and the MSS. of the LXX? What inferences, if any, may be drawn from that relationship? Secondly, do the NT texts shed any light on the origin of the LXX and the question of Hebrew archetypes? Thirdly, what relationship, if any, exists between the text or texts of Isaiah 40-66 in the NT and the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion?

LXX MSS. and the NT Texts

Portions from Second and Third Isaiah are quoted about 27 times in the New Testament. Because of duplication both by two or more NT authors and by the same authors, these cited portions--which may encompass several verses--are to be found in approximately thirty-six NT passages. In addition, at least three allusions are verbal parallels, enough at least to permit identification of the text and ~~may be used~~ to use in this discussion. These citations and allusions are to be found in Galatians, I and II Corinthians, and Romans among the letters of Paul, in Ephesians, all of the Gospels and the Acts, and in I Peter

and the Revelation of John.[1] Thus this material is found in many types of NT writings. The discussion being conducted at this point is based on the previous extensive examination of this material. In addition, the text of citations from Isaiah Chapters 40 through 66 has been examined in the works of Justin Martyr,[2] I Clement,[3] II Clement,[4] and the Epistle of Barnabas,[5] and the fruits of that perusal will be used when appropriate.

The Greek texts of Isaiah 40-66 in the New Testament will be divided into three groups: those which do not follow the LXX, those which are similar to the LXX text, and those which demonstrably follow the LXX text. Some of these Greek texts are based on the Hebrew text type now extant in the MT; others are not. However, the question of Hebrew archetypes will be reserved for discussion in a subsequent section. After the NT texts in each group have been discussed, the implications for LXX studies will be suggested.

Six passages from Isaiah 40-66 appear in the New Testament in Greek texts which are not derived from the LXX: (1) Isaiah 40:6-8, cited in I Peter 1:24, 25; (2) Isaiah 42:1-4, cited in Matthew

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[1] See Appendix A

[2] For sources I have used W. Trollope, ed., S. Justini Philosophi et Martyris cum Tryphone Judaeo Dialogus, Cambridge: J. Hall, 1846 and the same editor's edition of Justin's Apologia Prima, Cambridge: Macmillan, Barclay, & Macmillan, 1845.

[3] I have used as the Greek text that which is given in The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. I, in the Loeb Classical Library, ed. by E. Capps, T. E. Page, W. H. D. Rouse, London: William Heinemann, 1925.

[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

12:18-21; (3) Isaiah 49:10, alluded to in Revelations 7:16, 17; (4) Isaiah 52:7, cited in Romans 10:15; (5) Isaiah 52:11, cited in II Corinthians 6:17; (6) Isaiah 53:4a.b. cited in Matthew 8:17.

The Greek text of Isaiah 40:6-8 in I Peter differs in two places from the LXX. For the rendering "the glory of man" found in the LXX the NT passage has "its glory"; for the reading "the word of our God will stand forever" found in the LXX the NT passage has "the word of the Lord will stand forever." The first phrase in the NT is in keeping with the MT; the latter phrase departs from both the MT and the LXX. However, this latter NT phrase does not stand alone; in the LXX the phrase "the Lord" is a reading found in the Lucianic group, Minusculi 46, 233, and 456, in the Coptic, one text of the Palestinian Syriac, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Theodoretus, Cyprian, and the Speculum Audi Israel. Supported by these LXX variants, the text extant in the NT may be regarded as a much older Greek translation.

The citation of Isaiah 42:1-4, as it appears in Matthew 12:18-21, is an independent Greek rendering. Some of the connotations of this rendering, especially of the first portion, were indicated in the discussion of the Baptismal and Transfiguration formulae appearing in Mark 1:11 // Matt. 3:17 and Matt. 17:5; these connotations primarily concern the messianic character of Jesus. This passage was of value within Matthew's community as a summary description of Jesus, a usage which was well established before the time of Matthew's composition of the first gospel. Moreover, the fact that Matthew cites a large unit of Scripture which is not essential

for his specific purpose indicates that the portion was a unitary whole in the tradition and was not to be broken. The usage of this unit was the product of early Christian interpretation; this interpretation, it was suggested, did not take place within a formal school, but within a much more informal circle of meditation, reflection, and exposition, which certainly may have included persons trained in midrashic technique.

Revelation 7:16, 17, referring to Isaiah 49:10, is a clear case of assimilation within the context of the Christian apocalyptic hope. In the analysis of this passage in the preceding chapter the differences between the LXX, MT, and the NT were noted; the conclusion was reached that the passage represents either an old Greek version which differed from the present text of the LXX or else a rendering produced in Christian apocalyptic circles. Unfortunately, no textual evidence is available in the early Fathers; for this reason, final adjucation is not possible.

In Romans 10:15, Isaiah 52:7 is cited selectively in a form which diverges from the LXX and the other three later translations. In the detailed analysis of this citation, evidence was presented for the view that the Hebrew is reflected in this passage; the rendering either represents Paul's work or was current in the common Christian tradition. This latter suggestion is to be favored, for the citation appears in a chain argument which has its roots in the interpretative work of the early church. The view that this rendering is pre-Pauline is supported by the allusions to this verse with precisely the same associations which we have found in Ephesians

6:15 and the apparently pre-Pauline material in the Acts of the Apostles 10:36. The possibility of a variant Greek rendering adopted by the church is raised by the witness to the reading ὡραῖοι by Q^{mg}, 88, 22^{c}, a small portion of the Lucianic group, and Theodoretus, although this reading in these documents seems to betray an inclination toward assimilation to the NT--especially the marginal reading of Q and the corrector's insertion in 22. The evidence is not decisive; in any case, the Christian community--and Paul--used a non-LXX rendering of this verse.

In II Corinthians 6:17 a citation of Isaiah 52:11 combined with other citations is found. The citation and the unit in which it is found is non-Pauline, being derived from a circle similar or identical to that which produced the Apocalypse. In this passage we have a Greek text which arose within the Christian community, although a basis in Jewish apocalyptic antecedents is possible.

The citation of Isaiah 53:4a,b, in Matthew 8:17, may be regarded either as an independent rendering by the author or as a pre-Matthean Greek translation. The text found in Matthew 8:17 is definitely divergent from the LXX, which renders interpretatively. The only other literal rendering is found in Symmachus, whose phraseology is quite different.[6]

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[6]According to Ziegler, Symmachus rendered: ουτως τας νοσους ημων αυτος ανελαβε(ν) και τους πονους ημων υπεμεινεν The termασθενεις is found in the LXX text of Minusculi 22 and 93, the corrector having inserted it in 22. This seems to be assimilation to Matthew. What relation may be seen between Matthew and the similar rendering cited above in The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs? It is hard to account

Greek renderings which diverge from the LXX therefore are clearly extant in the NT in I Peter, Matthew, Paul, and apocalyptic writings, e.g., Revelation and II Cor. 6:17. Some are derived from Christian and some possibly from non-Christian courses; some represent the work of the writer of the extant document but many represent the translations received from others by the author of the extant document. For these reasons the LXX-however that term may be defined--does not present the only Greek text current in the first Christian Century; a multiplicity of Greek translations were in use. Is it possible that some of these non-LXX Greek renderings have been preserved in LXX MSS. which have been regarded customarily as late recensions or corrupted copies? Do these divergent Greek renderings reflect Hebrew archetypes which diverge from the Hebrew bases of both the MT and the LXX? The former question must remain unanswered in this paper; the latter must be reserved for a later discussion.

The second textual grouping may now be examined: the eight NT passages which are similar to but not identical with the LXX text. Significantly, in one case, the Hebrew is obscure (Isaiah 59:20,21a /// Rom. 11:26,27). In four cases--Isaiah 66:1-2 /// Acts 7:28b, 29; Isaiah 45:23, 49:18 /// Rom. 14:11; Isaiah 52:15 /// Rom. 15:20; Isaiah 65:1,2 /// Rom. 10:20,21--strong evidence of Christian interpretation is present. Even the sixth instance--

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for the similarity as a Christian interpolation, although not impossible. Is it possible that Matthew's rendering reflects the rendering of The Testament? Or is the similarity coincidence? Justin (Try. 13:26, Apol. I 50:20) and I Clem. (16:1-14) agree with the LXX.

Isaiah 40:3 /// John 1:23--seems to contain evidence of condensation and interpretation in the course of transmission. Thus, at the basis of these citations is probably the text extant in the LXX. Isaiah 53:12 /// Luke 22:37 and Isaiah 61:1-2a, 58:6 /// Luke 4:18-19 will be discussed below. In the Fathers the situation is again interesting. No parallel exists to Isaiah 59:20,21. The text of Isaiah 40:2 in John 1:23 receives no support from the text of the citation in Barnabas 9:3. No basis for textual comparison is present in the Fathers for the verses showing evidence of Christian interpretation: Isaiah 45:23 and 49:18, 52:15, 65:1,2, and 66:1.[7] This evidence would suggest, therefore, that the peculiar variations found in the NT are basically Christian in origin, based upon a text similar or identical to the one presently found in the LXX.

Eleven citations and one allusion appearing in sixteen NT passages agree completely with the LXX text, constituting the third textual group to be examined. Following is a list of passages:

Isaiah 40:3 /// Mk. 1:3; Mtt. 3:3; Luke 3:4-6 (Codex A)
Isaiah 40:13 /// Rom. 11:34,35; I Cor. 2:16 (Codex A)
Isaiah 49:6 /// Acts 13:47 (Codex A & Q)
Isaiah 49:8 /// II Cor. 6:2
Isaiah 52:5 /// Rom. 2:23,24
Isaiah 53:1 /// Rom. 10:15,16; John 12:37,38
Isaiah 53:4-6,9,12 alluded to in I Peter 2:22,24,25

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[7] Barnabas 9:3 diverges from the LXX and the Johannine reading of Isaiah 40:3. Barnabas 16:2 agrees with the NT reading, but Jus. Try. 22:77, Apol. I 37:8 does not. Perhaps Barnabas was influenced here by the NT text-form as transmitted within the circle which cherished the polemic against the Temple. Jus. Try. 13:19, 118, has a text-form differing from Paul, as does Apol. I. 50:11. Barnabas 12:4 is similar in phrasing to Paul's in citing Isaiah 65:1,2, but Jus. Try. 24:14, Apol. I 35:9, 49:5ff. diverges from both Paul and the LXX.

Isaiah 53:7,8 /// Acts 8:32-33
Isaiah 54:1 /// Gal. 4:26,27 (non-Lucianic reading)
Isaiah 55:3 /// Acts 13:34
Isaiah 56:7a /// Mk. 11:17; Mtt. 21:13; Luke 19:46
Isaiah 59:7,8 /// Rom. 3:15-17 (Codex A)

The text of the Fathers is interesting and may help to assess the importance of the above correspondence. In two instances no parallel was found in the Fathers;[8] in five passages there is agreement with the NT and the LXX;[9] in one passage both agreement and disagreement is present;[10] and in two, possibly three, there is disagreement.[11] Thus, among the Fathers is to be found a variety of Greek texts, a variety which one normally would find in the NT. Therefore, the close affinity in these passages to the text of the LXX may be of some importance.

Well over half of the NT texts bear close affinity to the LXX. What is the significance of this observation? The text surviving in the LXX was most prevalent in the communities in which these NT documents arose and in which the OT citations were interpreted.

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[8] Isaiah 49:8, 59:7,8

[9] Isaiah 40:13 (Jus. Try. 50:34), Isaiah 52:5 (Jus. Try. — 17:14; II Clem. 13:2), Isaiah 53:1 (I Clem 16:3; Jus. Try. 13:20, 42:10, Apol. I 50:12), Isaiah 53:4, 5, 6, 9 (Jus. Try. 13:31, 40:1; Apol. I 50:24,25;51:7; Barnavas 5:2), Isaiah 54:1 (Jus. Apol. I 53:22; II Clem. 2:1).

[10] Isaiah 53:7,8: Justin (Try. 13:34,35,36, Apol. I 50:29,30) diverges rather consistently from the LXX; I Clement one time agrees (16:7) and another time diverges (16:7); Barnabas is in agreement with the LXX text-form (5:2).

[11] Isaiah 40:3 (Jus. Try. 50:17; Barnabas 9:3), and Isaiah 49:6 (Barnabas 14:8). Concerning Isaiah 55:3, Justin (Try. 12:3, 14:20) reads the proper name Δαβιδ for Δαυιδ.

Especially is this true of the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles. This statement is supported by the citation of Isaiah 53:12 in Luke 22:37 and of Isaiah 61:1-2a, 58:6 in Luke 4:18-19, in which a text which is similar to both the LXX and the MT is preserved. In the case of the former the usage of the citation seems to be the work of Luke or of his community;[12] in the latter case the application can be traced back to Jesus himself, although the form of the citation in Luke reflects the wording of the translation found in the LXX. The author of Luke-Acts clearly depended upon the rendering now found in the LXX, even when he was transmitting traditional material. The same is true of Q; the text now in the LXX, with one alteration, appears in the citation of Isaiah 40:3 in the Synoptic Gospels. Likewise, in the Synoptics, as a part of Jesus' pronouncement during the cleansing of the Temple,[13] Isaiah 56:7a is cited in a translation which is identical with that present in the LXX. Apparently in both Q and Luke the text extant in the LXX was dominant. The same text also appears in some of the citations in Paul. Thus, widespread knowledge and usage of the Greek text preserved in the LXX is attested.

Is it possible to isolate a particular group of LXX MSS. as the best surviving source of this Greek text? This question may be

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[12] Jus. Apol. I 50:4 has the same reading as Luke; however in Apol. I 51:5 and also I Clement 16:13 the LXX is used. Quite clearly two text-forms were in the hands of Justin, or else he was influenced in the first citation by Luke.

[13] Mark 11:17 // Matt. 21:13 // Luke 19:46

answered with a firm, "Yes." In four citations the text in the NT may be identified with the rendering presently found in Codex **A**. The value of this evidence is enhanced by the fact that one citation, that of Isaiah 40:3, appears in the three Synoptics[14] and apparently is taken from **Q**. The text is only identifiable in the citation in Luke, but the identity both of form and source would indicate that the same version was used as well in the other Synoptic Gospels. In Acts 13:47, the text may be identified as that of the Codices **A** and **Q**, indicating that at least in this instance--and perhaps in others or even all instances--Luke uses this particular text. Equally important is the fact that in two passages[15] Paul likewise is using the text preserved in **A**; the former of these passages contains a citation also quoted in Romans 11:34,35, making possible the inference that the same text underlies that passage. Four--indirectly seven--out of fifteen direct citations furnish evidence for the usage of the text now found in **A**.

Thus an affinity for the text extant in Codex **A** is demonstrated. It may be objected that the congruence between this text and the NT citations is due not to the usage of a shared Greek text but to assimilation to the NT on the part of the transmitters of Codex **A**. However, this is highly unlikely. In the first place, at least for the first two centuries the Scriptures of the church

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[14] Mark 1:3 // Matt. 3:3 // Luke 3:4-6 (Codex **A**)

[15] Isaiah 40:13 /// I Cor. 2:16; Isaiah 59:7,8a /// Rom. 3:15-17.

were the books of the Old Testament, chiefly in the LXX version, with the NT coming into predominance only much later. Secondly, the Fathers shared in the life of the church; it would be expected, if the pressure toward assimilation were there, that their texts of Isaiah would also be assimilated to the NT text. Yet the opposite is true. In addition, if Codex A were assimilated to the NT text, the text of Codex A of the LXX would be in strict conformity with the Codex A of the NT. Yet sufficient instances exist where this is not the case.[16] Therefore, the affinity between the NT LXX citations and the text of A is due not to assimilation but to the sharing of an earlier Greek translation; the text which later was preserved in Codex A was current in the First Century, A.D., in the area from which the Greek form of Q emerged and in which Luke and Paul wrote, i.e., Syria, perhaps Palestine, and at least parts of Asia Minor. In addition, in Romans 3:15-17 phrases and citations from a number of OT sources are fused with Isaiah 59:7,8a; the same combination is found in Codex A of the LXX after Psalm 13:3, which Paul has just quoted. Rahlfs indicates that the scribe making Codex A unintentionally or intentionally included these verses under the influence of Paul. However, this view fails to take into account the high regard in which Scripture was held; it ascribes too much authority and influence to Paul's letter and this particular citation; it does not take into account the corrector's failure to set right the error before it left the scriptorium. As noted in the analysis in

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[16] E.g., Isaiah 65:1,2 /// Romans 10:20,21

Chapter II, Michel maintains that in Paul's citation is reflected a portion of a pre-Pauline Christian Psalm of Lamentation used in the liturgy, which in turn may have been based on a Jewish composition used in apologetics. If this be the case, and the evidence seems to support it, then the so-called interpolation in Codex **A** may not be such at all. Clearly, if such a Jewish composition underlies the Christian Psalm, it originated at an early date. It was used intensively in Jewish apologetics, and it may have entered into the text now preserved in Codex **A** long before Paul. Alternately, the reading may have been in the Hebrew archetype of the text of Codex **A**, and Paul may have had the entire passage before him in his Mss. In either case, the presence of the Pauline unit in Psalm 13 in the text of Codex **A** of the LXX is to be attributed not to the influence of Paul but to a pre-Pauline Greek rendering preserved in both Paul and Codex **A**. This conclusion is very significant. Not only does it demonstrate that the text preserved in Codex **A** was present in Alexandria as well as in the area in which Paul and Luke wrote, but also that the Greek text extant in Codex **A** is quite old.

The widespread attestation and the antiquity of the Greek text surviving in Codex **A** and the NT citations suggest that this text should be given great weight in the study of LXX variant readings in Isaiah. This implication receives considerable support from the conclusions of both R. R. Ottley and Joseph Ziegler.

In 1904, in his "Introduction" to <u>The Book of Isaiah</u>

According to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus),[17] R. R. Ottley presented his conclusions. First he admits that pre-eminence is generally assigned to Codex B; then he goes on to say that in some books of the O. T. Codex B departs from its usual character and falls below it.

> In the Book of Isaiah, to which we must as far as possible confine our attention, it is thus quite allowable to suggest that B falls below its usual standard, relative or absolute. It may be, firstly, a worse representative of the LXX than usual; secondly, inferior to other MSS.[18]

The observations that the readings of Codex B often stand alone in Isaiah and that Codex B contains frequent interpolations support his view. In addition, Ottley maintains that, although the Aleph-A-Q text often differs from the B text in the order of words, it receives considerable support from quotations in the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, Irenaeus, and in Clement of Alexandria. Later he adds to these the witness of Cyprian and Tyconius. He concludes,

> These witnesses . . .give very wide and very ancient attestation to a text which cannot be very far different from Aleph, A, or from Hesychius.[19]

More recently, Ziegler, in his critical edition of Isaiah,[20] groups the witnesses into four large families: the Alexandrian group, the witnesses issuing from the recension of Origen, the

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[17] Vol. I: Introduction and Translation, London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1904, especially pages 8-17.

[18] Ibid., p. 8

[19] Ibid., p. 17

[20] Joseph Ziegler, ed., Isaias, Vol. XIV in Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, ed. by Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), "Einleitung," pp. 21-95.

Lucianic recension and the Catena group. Of the four, the most important are the first two: the Alexandrian and those based on the recension associated with Origen, the latter composed chiefly of B and V, the former of A, Q, and sometimes Aleph or Aleph*. With these major uncials are to be placed numerous minusculi.

In contrast to Rahlfs, who apparently regards B as the most trustworthy since he uses it as his textual basis, Ziegler argues strongly for the validity and value of A-Q. Whereas B is considered by Ziegler to have been influenced by the MT through Origen, A-Q is thought to have preserved some more ancient readings and to be superior. This view is explicitly stated in at least two passages.

> Das Zusammengehen mit 965 buergt fuer die Ursprunglichkeit des alexandrinischen Textes; auch darin ziegt sich seine Vorzueglichkeit, dass er gegeneuber dem Text von B-V (= O [rig.]) und der lukianischen Rezension nicht von M T beeinflusst ist.[21]

> Der alexandrinische Text hat noch alte freie Wiedergaben des hebr. Textes, die spaeter in der hexaplarischen und davon abhaengig in der lukianischen Rezension nach M [T] verbessert sind.[22]

These conclusions, unlike Rahlf's, are based on an intensive and extensive examination of the variants in the LXX text of Isaiah. In summary, over one-half of the citations of Isaiah 40-66 in the

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[21] Ibid., p. 23: "The inclusion of 965 demonstrates the primitiveness of the Alexandrian text; in that fact is also displayed its superiority, in that--in contrast to the text of B-V (= Origen) and the Lucianic recension--it has not been influenced by the MT."

[22] Ibid., p. 24: "The Alexandrian text preserves a still older independent rendering of the Hebrew text, which later in the hexaplaric recension and for that reason in the Lucianic recension was corrected according to the MT."

New Testament are either identical with or closely related to the Greek text presented to us in the LXX. This is true especially of the citations in Luke-Acts, Q, and in part Paul, in which the NT citations clearly present the same Greek text that is extant in Codex A. This common Greek text, shared by both Codex A and the stated NT documents, was in use in Egypt, parts of Asia Minor, Syria, and perhaps Palestine, at least as early as the First Century A. D. The studies of Ottley and Ziegler have confirmed the value of the text extant in Codex A and these NT passages; the latter scholar especially has demonstrated that this text is a very old rendering of the Hebrew, not influenced by the MT.

Other NT citations from Isaiah 40-66 preserve Greek renderings which are independent of the LXX. These citations are found in I Peter, in the unique citations of Matthew, in Paul, and especially in sources arising from apocalyptic circles, i.e., II Corinthians 6:17 and the Revelation. Although the origin of the renderings may vary, as a group the texts witness to the multiplicity of Greek translations in use, along with the LXX, in the First Century A. D., which may possibly underlie some of the variants in the LXX MSS. Do these conclusions present implications for the understanding of the origin of the LXX? Can we discern different Hebrew archetypes behind the text preserved in Codex A and the NT citations and behind the non-LXX Greek renderings in other NT passages? Are any of the Greek texts in the NT related to the MT? Attention may now be given to these questions.

LXX Origins, Hebrew Archetypes, and the NT Texts

The LXX has been viewed by many as the product of a concerted effort expended over a period of time by a group of translators working in Alexandria, in the 3rd Century B. C., using as their basis a single Hebrew archetype. This view, propagated by the "Letter of Aristeas,"[23] was adopted by Legarde, Margolis, and others, and forms the basis for Rahlf's critical apparatus in his edition of the LXX.[24] This view posits for the LXX one primitive Greek rendering, which has passed through at least three major recensions.

This traditional view has been challenged vigorously by Paul Kahle in his book, The Cairo Geniza.[25] In his view, the translation of which the "Letter of Aristeas" speaks is a standardized version of earlier Greek translations present in Alexandria. The "Letter of Aristeas" itself is intended to promote and win acceptance for this standardized version. Originally intended to apply only to the

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[23]A historical introduction as well as the Greek text may be found in H. B. Swete's An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge, 1900, pp. 1-27, 499ff. An English translation is found in R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1913, II, pp. 83-122. Aristobulus, a Jewish Alexandrian philosopher who wrote in 170-150 B. C., claimed that "the complete translation of the whole of the Jewish Law was made in the time of the king who was surnamed Philadelphus Ptolemy II . . . through the efforts of Demetrius of Phalerum," as quoted in Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1948), pp. 104-105.

[24]Alfred Rahlfs, ed., Septuaginta, Fourth Ed., Vols. I and II, Stuttgart: Privileg. Wuertt. Bibelanstalt, 1950; see especially the article "History of the Septuagint Text," in the Introduction, pp. xxii-xxxi.

[25]Paul E. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, London, 1947.

revision of the Greek texts of the Torah, Kahle maintains, the term "LXX" was applied to the whole Greek Bible by the Christians; this usage appears in spite of the fact that the revision of which Aristeas speaks deals with only a part of the total Greek text of the OT. The "Letter of Aristeas" was propagated by the early Christian apologists to lend authority to the accepted Greek text used by the Christian preachers and teachers. Kahle maintains that, instead of being derived from a single Greek archetype which has passed through various recensions, the present text of the LXX must be regarded as the product of numerous Greek Targums produced in the synagogues of the diaspora, which only gradually were unified into a single text. Such a development is similar to that which we observe in the case of the Aramaic Targums and the Latin Vulgate. In general, T. W. Manson[26] and A. Sperber[27] agree with this view.

E. E. Ellis[28] has pointed to several weaknesses in this view expounded by Kahle. First, the witness of Aristobulus (second century B. C.) related above, which Swete regards as genuine, is not dealt with by Kahle. Ellis goes on to say that, even "assuming the "Letter" to be a 100 B. C. propaganda piece, it does not follow that it was entirely baseless." In this Ellis is right. Of course,

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[26]Manson, "The Cairo Geniza: A Review" in Dominican Studies, 2 (April 1949), Oxford, pp. 183-192.

[27]A. Sperber, "NT and Septuagint," in Journal of Biblical Literature, 59 (June 1940), pp. 193-289.

[28]E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957, pp. 18-19.

the basis may be the earlier targumic translations in Greek, according to Kahle's view; these translations may have acquired a legendary character, which also may be reflected in the "Letter." Ellis also objects that Kahle's handling of the quotations of Philo is open to question. However, the most potent argument against Kahle's view is the objection that "the lack of an extant Greek targumic tradition also militates against such a process on the scale which Kahle envisions." Ellis' comment concerning the length of time necessary for such a targumic tradition to develop is met by the suggestion that in Egypt Hebrew ceased to be the spoken and written vernacular among the Jews at a much earlier time than in Palestine, providing the time span required for the earlier development of the targumic tradition. Yet the lack of extant Greek targumic material is a strong argument against this aspect of Kahle's view.

H. M. Orlinsky, probably the most vociferous and vehement advocate of the traditional view, raises yet another objection. In an article dealing with the inferences of the study of Qumran manuscripts for the study of the LXX text,[29] Orlinsky maintains,

> The theory of one original Greek translation of each of the various Books of the Hebrew Bible, which in turn gave rise to the various recensions, the theory which has long been associated with Lagarde, Rahlfs, Montgomery, and especially Margolis, has been demonstrated beyond

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[29]H. M. Orlinsky, "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies: The Septuagint Text," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVIII (March 1959), pp. 26-33.

> reasonable doubt by the Hebrew and Greek materials from Qumran. Those who have opposed this theory, notably Kahle, have received nothing but opposition from the Dead Sea Scrolls.[30]

Still, the textual variations in Philo, the NT, and the early Fathers present a problem for this view. To meet this problem Aramaic Targums, divergent LXX recensions and independent renderings have been proposed; yet the variations seem to reflect a divergent Hebrew source.

This problem found no solution before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls; however, the DSS indicate clearly that a multiplicity of Hebrew archetypes were in existence prior to the Christian era. Frank M. Cross, in his book The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, discusses the data and summarizes the conclusions established by the Qumran material.[31] Cross indicates that at least three early recensions of the Hebrew are discernable in the Qumran MSS.: (1) the Hebrew Vorlage of the single primitive Greek translation which, having passed through several Greek recensions, is now referred to as the LXX; (2) the proto-Masoretic recension, and (3) the proto-Samaritan Hebrew recension. The first, the Hebrew Vorlage of the proto-LXX (the single primitive Greek archetype), is clearly presented in Deut. 32 from 4Q, $4QEx^{a}$, $4QJer^{b}$, and--to a degree--$4QNum^{b}$;[32] this Egyptian textual tradition may be dated tentatively "no earlier

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[30] Ibid., p. 33.

[31] Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958, pp. 124-145

[32] Ibid., pp. 135, 137, 139, 138f. respectively

than the fourth century, no later than the early third century B. C., being derived from the "Old Palestinian" text type of the fifth-century Jewish community in Palestine; this Old Palestinian text type "was developed from materials which had passed through the hands of the Exilic, i.e., early Babylonian, community.[33] This Hebrew Vorlage is definitely established for the historical books: "These manuscripts establish once for all that in the historical books the Septuagint translators faithfully and with extreme literalness reproduced their Hebrew Vorlage."[34] The second recension, the proto-Masoretic, is represented in the scrolls of Ezekiel, the Book of the Twelve (Minor Prophets), 1QIs^{a} and 1QIs^{b} and 4QSam^{b}; this text type may have been either the official text in Palestine from the fifth century on, or else a "type which developed outside Palestine in the fourth and third centuries (presumably in Babylon) later being reintroduced--though in no case later than the Maccabean period."[35] Indications are present that one scroll, 4QSam^{b}, antedates both the proto-Masoretic recension and the Vorlage of the LXX.[36] The third type, the proto-Samaritan, is represented by the Palec-Hebrew Exodus MSS. and in part by 4QNum^{b}, and was in existence at least by the early Hasmonean period.[37] These conclusions suggest that at the basis of the extant LXX

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[33] Ibid., pp. 134, 140-2; the quotation is from p. 141

[34] Ibid., p. 134

[35] Pp. 143, 145; specific quotation is from the latter

[36] P. 142

[37] P. 143f.

and the divergent texts in Philo, the NT, and the early Fathers is a multiplicity of Hebrew text types. Is this suggestion supported by the texts of the NT citations examined in this paper?

To arrive at some tentative answer to this question, the attempt will be made to group the NT texts by implicit Hebrew textual bases. First should be noted the NT texts which diverge from neither the MT nor the LXX; these are of little value for our discussion. These texts are (1) Isaiah 40:13 /// Rom. 11:34,35; I Cor. 2:16, (2) Isaiah 49:8 /// II Cor. 6:2, perhaps (3) Isaiah 55:3 /// Acts 13:34 and (4) Isaiah 53:12 /// Luke 22:37. In a fifth instance, Isaiah 40:3 /// John 1:23, the Hebrew basis cannot be determined.

Of far greater importance are the texts which agree with the LXX text but diverge from the MT. They are as follows:

Isaiah 40:3 /// Mk. 1:3; Mtt. 3:3; Lk. 3:4-6 (Codex A)
Isaiah 49:6 /// Acts 13:47 (Codices A and Q)
Isaiah 52:5 /// Rom. 2:23, 24
Isaiah 53:1 /// Rom. 10:15, 16; John 12:37, 38
Isaiah 53:7,8 /// Acts 8:32-33 (Codex A)
Isaiah 54:1 /// Gal. 4:26, 27
Isaiah 59:7,8 /// Rom. 3:15-17 (Codex A)

To these should be added the NT texts which diverge from the MT but are similar to the text of the LXX:

Isaiah 45:23, 49:18 /// Rom. 14:11
Isaiah 52:15 /// Rom. 15:20
Isaiah 59:20, 21a /// Rom. 11:26, 27
Isaiah 61:1, 2a /// Luke 4:18, 19
Isaiah 65:1, 2 /// Rom. 10:20, 21
Isaiah 66:1, 2 /// Acts 7:28b, 29

In the preceding discussion, it was suggested that both Codex A and these NT citations shared an early Greek text current in the First Century A. D. Significantly four of the texts which are in agreement

with the text of the LXX are in agreement with Codex A; in two of these at least one of the LXX MSS. in the B-V group has variant readings which conform the Greek text to the MT. Likewise, in all of the instances where the NT texts cannot be related to a specific LXX MSS. text type, at least one of the B-V group includes a critical notation which labels as doubtful the specific phrase in which the LXX diverges from the MT. Therefore, the text of Codex A and the specified NT ciations is the extant expression of an early Greek translation which used as its basis a non-MT Hebrew text type. Do the NT texts and Codex A of the LXX represent the proto-LXX of Isaiah and its Hebrew Vorlage? $1QIs^a$, in Isaiah 40:7-8, gives some support to an affirmative answer. In these verses the autograph of $1QIs^a$, like the LXX, omits the phrases, "when the breath of the Lord blows upon it; surely the people is grass. The grass withers, the flower fades;". This omission is remedied interlinearly by the original hand.[38] Was the copyist influenced momentarily by an unrecovered divergent Hebrew text of Isaiah?

Other NT texts reflect the proto-MT text type. The three instances are (1) Isaiah 52:7 /// Rom. 10:15, (2) Isaiah 52:11 /// II Cor. 6:17, and (3) Isaiah 53:4a,b /// Matthew 8:17. All three appear to be Greek renderings which antedate the author of the NT document; they therefore witness to the currency of the proto-MT text type in the place of their origin.

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[38] For the text, see p. 30 above

Three final NT texts witness to the currency of one or more Hebrew text types. The first passage is I Peter 1:24-25, citing Isaiah 40:6-8. The material from Isaiah is used in this NT passage to emphasize the contrast between the transiency of mortal life and the permanence of the Word of the Lord. The LXX in this unit diverges from the MT in that several phrases are omitted in the Greek translation extant in the LXX. Interestingly the autograph of $1QIs^a$ likewise omits the phrases; in the Qumran MSS, however, the phrases have been inserted interlinearly, the first portion by the original hand and the latter portion by a later hand. This omission suggests that the copyist of $1QIs^a$ may have been using or may have been influenced by a Hebrew text which diverged from the proto-MT Hebrew text type and which was closer to the Hebrew archetype of the proto-LXX Greek rendering. Elsewhere in the passage, however, the NT text differs from the MT, LXX, and $1QIs^a$ combined. The latter three textual sources read "the word of our God will stand forever," whereas the NT reads "the word of the Lord will stand forever." As noted in the discussion of this passage above, the NT reading can possibly be regarded as an interpretative reworking; most probably, however, the NT text represents a divergent Hebrew archetype. This conclusion is buttressed by the fact that the NT reads "his glory" with the MT against the LXX, and "like the flower of the grass"

with the LXX against the MT. These readings, in addition to the omission of the phrases and the reading "the word of the Lord" indicate that in this NT passage we have a Greek rendering of an Hebrew archetype which diverges from the Hebrew texts underlying both the MT and the LXX.

The second and third instances which attest to the currency of Hebrew archetypes which diverge from the archetype of both the proto-LXX and the proto-MT are Matthew 12:18-21 /// Isaiah 42:1-4 and Revelation 7:16,17 # Isaiah 49:10. Both of these passages have been discussed extensively earlier in this consideration. A definitely divergent Hebrew textual basis has also been noted behind Revelation 1:6 and Revelation 5:10.[39]

In summary, a multiplicity of Greek renderings and Hebrew archetypes have been discerned. Over one-half of the Greek NT texts are either in agreement with or closely similar to the text of the LXX; of special interest is the agreement of a number of NT Greek texts with the Greek text extant in Codex A. This affinity suggests that these NT Greek texts and Codex A shared an early Greek rendering, in usage in Egypt, Syria, parts of Asia Minor, and perhaps Palestine, which--unlike the text preserved in Codex B and allies--was not greatly influenced by the developing MT and which may preserve the

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[39]See above pp. 429-31

proto-LXX and its Fourth Century B. C. Hebrew Vorlage of the Book of Isaiah. Other NT Greek texts agree with both the present MT and the LXX, and are therefore not useful for this discussion. Still other NT Greek texts attest to the currency of the proto-MT Hebrew text type and to the presence of one or more Hebrew text types divergent from both of the above.

NT Text-forms and the Translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion

If the LXX citations in the NT show affinities with the text-form of Codex A, is it possible that the NT citations reflect text-forms which later were incorporated into the translations of the three persons indicated above? Specifically, what relationship--if any--exists between the NT text-forms and the later Greek translations? If such a relationship can be demonstrated, can an inference be made concerning the particular later Greek translators, with regard both to their work and their background?

Included in the material under examination are all of the direct citations from Isaiah Chapters 40-66 in the New Testament, and any conclusions are based on these limited sources. Nevertheless, such evidence may be useful for a subsequent discussion of the questions before us. The most likely source of information is the

group of passages which diverge in their text-form from the LXX; however, it is possible that variants among the LXX citations may give us clues.

The total evidence is given in Appendix B of this paper. Here the evidence may be interpreted. Out of twenty-six citations examined, we have evidence[40] of the renderings of all three translators in thirteen, evidence of two in six citations, of one in two citations, and of none of the later renderings in five instances. We therefore have twenty-one out of twenty-six citations in which the texts of one or more of the later translators may be studied.

Out of the twenty-one citations, in one we have complete agreement with the NT text--Isaiah 49:6 /// Acts 13:47 (Codex A & Q). The only drawback here is that the NT is clearly using the LXX text, which all three later translators have chosen to preserve. In fifteen of the twenty citations, there is absolutely no correspondence whatever between the text of the NT and that of the later translators.[41] In five citations, some similarity may be noted between the NT text and one--or in one case two--of the later translators. These we may now analyse.

In one instance similarities between the NT and both Aquila

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[40] Based on Ziegler's edition of Isaiah, op. cit. Although both Rom. 10:15,16 and John 12:37,38 make use of the same verse, the citation is more extensive and is regarded as an additional citation.

[41] Isaiah 40:6-8, 13, 49:8a,b,c, 45:23, 52:7, 11, 5, 53:1, 12, 54:1, 55:3, 59:20,21a, 58:6, 61:1,2a, 66:1,2a.

and Symmachus are found. In Romans 3:15-17 (Codex **A**), Paul's text has two words--ἐκχέαι αἷμα--which are found in the two, although the renderings of the remainder of the sentence differ. This may be coincidence, for the words also are found in the LXX tradition, upon which Paul or his source seems to be relying. This is the only instance in which two of the later translators reflect terminology found in the NT text-form. May this be taken as evidence for the suggestion proposed above concerning the source of this unit? The question is especially pertinent when one remembers the diverse methods and aims of Aquila and Symmachus.

In only one other instance is any correspondence to be found with Aquila: the citation of Isaiah 40:3 in John 1:23. Although most of the terminology differs from Aquila, John's verb εὐθύνατε is identical with that of the later translator. This correspondence most probably should be regarded as verbal coincidence, rather than dependence.

In only one instance does a correspondence appear between the NT text-form and that of Theodotion, against the renderings of the LXX, Aquila, and Symmachus: the citation of Isaiah 42:1-4 in Matthew 12:18-21. In this case, the two phrases ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου and ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου and the verb σβέσει are identical with Matthew's text-form. Stendahl considers this correspondence to indicate a dependence of Matthew's source upon Theodotion's text-form. Apart from the deviousness of this explanation, indications are present that it is the other way around: Theodotion may be dependent upon Matthew's text-form. Both Aquila and

Symmachus render "servant" with the only other alternative, δοῦλος, possibly out of reaction to the Christian interpretation but probably out of necessity due to a lack of additional synonyms. Notably the phrase ὁ παῖς μου stands in the LXX as well as Theodotion and Matthew. Theodotion's ἰδοὺ is also the rendering of both Aquila and Symmachus. This observation, together with the fact that both Symmachus and Theodotion render ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου with Matthew, would indicate that the two later translators knew a text similar to if not identical with that of Matthew. Symmachus' usage of σβέσει, which agrees with Matthew, Theodotion, Aquila, and the LXX, cannot be used as evidence for an affinity between the text of Matthew and the later translators. However, the evidence suggested above would indicate not that Matthew's text is an eclectic rendering of variant text-forms, as Stendahl maintained, but an ancient Greek translation which represents an authentic Hebrew basis.

Two other instances, in addition to what has been discussed above, may be mentioned with regard to Symmachus. Acts 8:32,33, citing Isaiah 53:7,8, has one phrase in common with Symmachus' rendering. However, Acts here is reflecting almost identically the LXX text, and it may be assumed that Symmachus has at this point adopted it. More significant is the similar terms found in Matthew's rendering of Isaiah 53:4a,b in 8:17 and that of the later translator. Both display the usage of the phrase τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν, Symmachus using it to render the object of the first clause and Matthew the object of the second. In addition, kindred verbs

are used in the first clause: Matthew using the simple form λαμβάνω and Symmachus using the prefixed form ἀναλαμβάνω. It is doubtful whether this evidence can be ascribed to any reason other than linguistic coincidence. Yet the possibility remains that Symmachus adopted this phraseology, yet sufficiently modifying it to avoid any accusation of dependence upon the Gospel. The arguments are inconclusive, however.

The conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is clear: the material before us--limited to the citations from Isaiah 40-66--contains no affinities whatever between the NT passages and the three later translators that cannot most reasonably be accounted for as dependence upon the LXX or linguistic coincidence. In one or two cases a possible dependence by the later translators upon the text of the NT has been detected, but the evidence permits no firm conclusion.

Conclusions

We are now in a position to summarize the conclusions of a textual nature which may be derived from this study. The Greek texts of the NT were examined in two groups: those which agree with the LXX and those which diverged from the LXX. The former texts are of significance in that they indicate the wide distribution and usage of the Greek text extant in the LXX. Of special importance was the notation that the author of the Gospel of Luke, Q, and at times Paul made use of the Greek rendering now preserved in Codex A. On the basis of this affinity, the superiority

and antiquity of the Greek text now in Codex A, advocated by Ottley and Ziegler, is supported by these NT Greek texts. The NT texts in I Peter, Matthew, and apocalyptic writings which diverge from the LXX were examined, and it was concluded that in these texts may be preserved well established Greek renderings which differed from the rendering now preserved in Codex A and kindred NT passages.

In the second section of this chapter the question of Hebrew archetypes was raised, with a tentative answer being proffered. After a survey of the Hebrew textual implications of the Qumran MSS., at least three distinct Hebrew textual archetypes were noted: (1) the Hebrew archetype which stands behind the proto-LXX, (2) the proto-Masoretic Hebrew text, and (3) the proto-Samaritan Hebrew recension. In the light of these conclusions, it was suggested (1) that the Greek rendering which is extant in Codex A and some NT texts actually preserves the proto-LXX text which in turn was based on the Hebrew archetype of the LXX of the Fourth Century B. C., (2) that some NT Greek texts which diverge from the LXX reflect the proto-Masoretic Hebrew text, and (3) that the remaining Greek texts of the NT may reflect Hebrew text or texts which diverged from both the archetype of the LXX and the MT.

In the third section the relationship between the NT texts and the three later translators was considered. No perceptible affinity or dependence was observed, except in several minor cases where the later translators possibly were influenced by the NT text.

CHAPTER V

HERMENEUTICAL AND EXEGETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since the discussion of textual implications has now been completed, the hermeneutical principles, exegetical methods, sources and purposes of application, as well as other matters, manifest in the use of the latter portion of Isaiah in the New Testament may now be considered. Clearly it is impossible at this point to deal with the general usage of the Old Testament in the New; rather, it is necessary only to cite such treatments.[1] We are concerned here with the usage of portions from Isaiah, Chapters 40 through 66.

Unlike the textual discussion above which was based primarily on direct citations, in this chapter both the quotations and allusions will be utilized. The meaning of the two terms should be clarified here. Earlier in this study, an effort toward general definition was attempted. Citations were defined as conscious utilization of scriptural material, which could be recognized either by their introductory formulae, similarity of phraseology or wording, or both. Allusions, on the other hand, have neither, but seem to be the product of unconscious though recognizable utilization of the OT passage. It is important to note that the same passage may be

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[1] See, for instance, E. Earle Ellis' excellent discussion of Paul's usage of the scripture in his book, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957; also, Simon Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Amsterdam, Wed. G. Van Soest N.V., 1961. To both of these, the writer of this paper owes a great deal.

either a citation or allusion, depending upon the usage to which it is put, the time and place of implementation, and perhaps its place in the tradition. Moreover, the passage is not necessarily fixed in its application; it may have entered the interpretative tradition as a citation and then at a later time reappeared as an allusion, or it may have entered the tradition in the opposite way.[2] Yet at some point--if the passage has had any influence on Christian thought--the passage was intentionally studied and interpreted.

The work of the tradition-critics has demonstrated that the material which we now have in our New Testament writings has passed through a long process of transmission and interpretation, mostly in an oral form. This is most apparent in the case of the Gospels; yet evidence which has been adduced above and which will be discussed more fully below indicates that much of the material taken from these portions of Isaiah has passed through the same process, although in the extant form they are incorporated in the writings of a particular person such as Paul. This is to say that Paul cannot be isolated from the Christian communities and the tradition and material which they transmitted. Although it is at times impossible to determine with certainty the source of his material, as well as that of others, it is possible to determine

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[2] E.g., Isaiah 45:23 seems to have been one of the passages used to interpret and support the motif of Christ's Lordship, and is so reflected in Philippians 2:10. Yet in Romans 14:11 it is cited for another reason.

with probability such indebtedness.

Hermeneutical Principles

The same common heritage is reflected in the hermeneutical principles manifest in the New Testament documents. By the phrase "hermeneutical principles" is intended the primary assumptions and views which lie behind and under the Christian interpretation of Scripture. Some of these assumptions are held in common with Judaism--Pharisaic and non-Pharisaic, Palestinian and Hellenistic. Others are peculiar to the Christian viewpoint.

One of the assumptions shared with Judaism in all its branches was the authority with which the Old Testament was viewed. The supreme court of appeal was the Old Testament, and in this conviction the early church fully shared. The Scripture was the normative authority. This assumption is especially apparent in the Citation Formulae used to introduce quotations from the sacred text, both in rabbinical and New Testament usage.[3] In the New Testament, the formulae introducing citations from the last twenty-six chapters of Isaiah support this observation. In thirteen instances the absolute form of γράφω

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[3]See Ellis, op. cit., pp. 20-37, 48-49; B. M. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the New Testament and the Mishnah," in Journal of Biblical Literature, ed. Robert C. Dentan, Philadelphia, Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, LXX (1951), pp. 297-301; J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, Assen; Van Gorcum & Comp. V.V., 1954, especially pp. 52-55, 115-116; Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, New York: The Viking Press, 1955, p. 246.

is used. It stands alone in Matt. 21:13 and Luke 19:46. In all other instances, other words are used with it, whether they be ὅτι,[4] καθώς,[5] or the two καθώς. . .ὅτι.[6] These phrases are restricted primarily to "Q" and the Apostle Paul. Neither Matthew nor John uses a form of γράφω. Luke, however, uses the term in a much fuller phrase. Introducing the passage from Isaiah 61:1f. in the account of the sermon in Nazareth, Luke uses the phrase εὗρεν τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον.[7] In Luke 22:37, in terms strongly connotative of the fulfillment formulae of Matthew and John, is found the phrase τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί, τό. With only three exceptions the referent of these phrases--if one is to be understood--is "Scripture." Therefore, the high authority with which Scripture was viewed is apparent.[8] In the usage of the forms of the verb λέγω much greater flexibility is present. The term appears in the present active indicative four times,[9] in the perfect active indicative three times,[10] in the present participial form

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[4]Mark 11:17

[5]Mark 1:2; Rom. 10:15, 11:26-27, 15:20.

[6]Rom. 3:15-17

[7]Luke 4:17-19

[8]See also B. B. Warfield, Revelation and Inspiration, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1927) especially the essay "It Says:" "Scripture Says;" "God Says," pp. 283-332.

[9]II Cor. 6:2; Acts 7:48-49; Rom. 10:16, 10:20-21

[10]II Cor. 6:17; John 1:23, 12:38

thrice,[11] and in the pluperfect active indicative once.[12] In seven instances Isaiah is mentioned by name,[13] and in one instance he is referred to simply as "the prophet."[14] In two instances the subject is ὁ θεός, in II Cor. 6:17 explicitly and in Acts 13:34 implicitly. In II Cor. 6:2 the subject may be either God or the Lord Jesus. The latter alternative seems probable in the formula of Acts 13:47. In I Peter 1:24 the simple διότι is used; in four instances no CF is used whatever.[15]

In all instances where the aspect of fulfillment is emphasized--in Luke, John and Matthew--the name of Isaiah is associated directly with the passage. This does not mean that the emphasis falls on the person of Isaiah, but upon the fact that God is speaking through him.[16] Also, the only instance where God is said to speak directly--II Cor. 6:17--is derived from apocalyptic circles. Nevertheless, whether through the prophet Isaiah, the scripture, through the Lord Jesus, or directly, the passage is regarded as the expression of God's will and purpose.

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[11] Matt. 3:3, 12:16-21, 8:17

[12] Acts 13:34

[13] Rom. 10:16, 10:20-21; John 1:23, 12:38; Matt. 3:3, 8:17, 12:16-21.

[14] Acts 7:48-49

[15] Rom. 11:34; I Cor. 2:16; Mark 9:48; Acts 8:32-33

[16] Ellis, op. cit., discusses the question of the "human element" in Paul's citations on pp. 23-25, and rightly concludes, citing Thackeray on p. 25, n. 5, "This was a common and indeed . . . the only mode of more nearly locating a quotation."

It therefore provides the supreme court of appeal, which cannot be questioned.

In the second assumption, the early church stood alone. In rabbinic hermeneutics, the Prophets and the Writings were used to interpret the Torah; in early Christian hermeneutics, however, the Prophets and Writings were used to explain the significance of the life, death, resurrection, and lordship of Jesus. The person of Christ occupied the central place in Christian interpretation; the utterances of the prophets and the words of the Psalmists--as well as other Scripture--were searched for information as to the meaning of the person of Jesus. The question was: what has God done in the person of Jesus of Nazareth? This view, implicit in the hermeneutics of Paul,[17] is stated explicitly in the Gospel of John, a statement which we may accept as representative of the perspective of the early Christians,

> You search the scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that bear witness to me; . . .If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote of me.[18]

The formulae of fulfillment, adduced from three of the four evangelists, entirely support this observation. The double formula in Luke 22:37 clearly expresses the view of Luke and his community. John's usage in 1:23 and 12:38 is entirely in keeping

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[17] See Doeve, op. cit., p. 98.

[18] John 5:39,46; see also the reflection of Christian sentiment in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16:29-31.

with this principle. Matthew's concept of scripture fulfillment--exemplified in 3:3, 8:17, 12:16-21--is well-known. No parallel to this principle of interpretation is to be found elsewhere; nowhere does a person stand decisively in the center of the interpretative process.[19] Yahweh has given His Word, but His Word is that which bears witness to Christ. Therefore, His Word is only completed in Christ.[20]

Little preoccupation with the historical context of the scriptural passages is found. This does not mean that the scriptural passages are regarded as non-historical; rather, as Ellis remarks with reference to Paul, "the whole relationship of

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[19]The "Teacher of Righteousness" in the Qumran Mss. comes closest to being a parallel. Yet Gaertner says: "The difference is great between this sect's study of the Scriptures and the treatment of the Holy Scriptures lying behind Mt. However, this difference concerns primarily the object of the study of the Scriptures rather than the actual method. Mt. concentrates upon the person of Jesus, and seeks from the Scriptures to show the messiahship of Jesus. . . On the other hand we have in the sect a concentration upon periods of time, and the different types of events which leave their mark upon them. The Teacher of Righteousness has not the same central position as Jesus. Thus to draw a parallel between these two figures as the main object of the study of the Scriptures is not correct," p. 8 in Bertil Gaertner, "The Habakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew," Studia Theologica, ed. by Ordinum Theologorum Scandinavicorum, Lund: Prostant Apud C. W. K. Gleerup, 1955, Vol. VIII, Fasc. 11 (1954), pp. 1-24.

[20]Metzger's conclusion, op. cit., p. 306-307, is worth repeating: "More precisely, the characteristically Christian view of the continuing activity of God in the historical events comprising the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, fulfilling and completing the divine revelation recorded in the OT, is reflected even in the choice of formulas introducing quotations of Scripture in the N. T."

OT to NT depends upon its [the OT] being real history."[21] The historical situation is of little interest in itself, for the utterances of the prophets--up until Christ unfulfilled--have found their fulfillment in the precise historical moment of his life, death, resurrection, and exaltation. Thus, in terms of historical time, the NT presents what Gaertner has termed--with reference to Matthew--an "'interpretation punctualis.'"[22] The whole sacred history has become focused in the person of Jesus the Risen One.

The influence of the motif of lordship is evident in a few instances, which are of special significance. Once Jesus the Risen One was regarded as having received the place of "lord," it was only normal that passages which in the OT spoke of Yahweh would be interpreted as speaking of the Risen One. We have noted how, in the Gospel of John, Isaiah was thought to have seen not the Lord God but the Lord Jesus in his Temple-vision.[23] Possibly the same viewpoint lies behind the CF of Isaiah 49:8 in II Cor. 6:2. The same tendency is expressed in the citation of Isaiah 49:6 in Acts 13:47. This principle would constitute a development of the motif of lordship and would represent a developed stage of Christian interpretation. For this reason, it appears in only a few cases.

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[21] Ellis, op. cit., p. 47, n.3.

[22] Gaertner, loc. cit.

[23] John 12:41; see above.

Before leaving this discussion of the hermeneutical principles which underlie the process of early Christian interpretation, it is fitting at least briefly to mention the strong eschatological outlook betrayed in some of the citations. Although this outlook is somewhat tempered in the Gospel of John, it appears in full flower in many of the citations and allusions and is just in the background behind many others. The attempt will not be made here to treat this subject exhaustively, since the discussion will be resumed in the final chapter. The outlook is clearly not derived from the study of Second Isaiah, but is buttressed by that study. Many portions of Second and Third Isaiah lend themselves to such an interpretation, due to the fact that Second Isaiah's message itself is set within an eschatological framework. The points at which this original framework differs from that of the New Testament will be explored later. Here it will suffice to mention several occasions in which this assumption has reached expression.

Because Paul reflects in the clearest fashion the earliest tradition, these passages are found chiefly in Paul. In Romans 10:20,21 (/// Isaiah 65:1,2), the passage is applied to the present response and lack of response to the event of Jesus Christ, a passage in which the phrase "all the day" expresses the acute awareness of the imminent eschaton. Several passages are applied to the work of the Christian heralds. Paul finds the scriptural justification for his method of apostolic preaching in one passage from Isaiah (52:15 /// Rom. 15:20,21) fraught with

eschatological overtones; moreover, the total work of the Christian heralds is placed within the same framework (Isaiah 52:7 /// Rom. 10:15). In II Cor. 6:2 is found a citation from Isaiah which, although used as an admonition by Paul, seems to have been used in the apostolic preaching as a scripture emphasizing the present time as the time of salvation:

> For he says,
> At the acceptable time I have listened to you,
> and helped you on the day of salvation (Isaiah 49:8).

Paul adds, "Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation." The same eschatological emphasis is found in the phrase "all the day" referred to above, and in the term "today" amplified by the author of To the Hebrews.

It is not to be supposed that, because instances have not been cited, this viewpoint is absent from the gospels, as well as the other documents of the NT. On the contrary, behind all of the Gospels--including John in a modified form--and the other epistles and works lies the same intense awareness of the imminence of the end-time. All seem to agree that the end-time, in which "the Redeemer will come out of Zion" (Rom. 11:26,27 /// Isaiah 59:20,21), was near. The apocalyptic sections, found partially in the Gospels and the early epistles of Paul, and present fully in the Revelation, may be accepted as the background against which much of the NT material may be assessed. This contention will receive further support below.

Exegetical Methods

By "exegetical method" is meant the manner in which Scriptural material is handled in order to expound its meaning within the Christian context. In order to analyze the methods of the early Christians, an awareness of the exegetical methods used by the rabbis and the Qumran community might be valuable.

Bonsirven, in his incisive analysis of rabbinic exegesis,[24] gives rabbinic interpretation its proper orientation. First the dual nature--written and oral--of the Law is recalled; then Bonsirven discusses the midrashic forms and their relationship to the Law.

> De là les deaux directions que suit l'exégèse juive: suivant une de ces voies, probablement la plus primitive, elle se livre à l'étude directe et désintéressée du texte sacré afin d'en degager la signification; dans l'autre voie elle s'applique à justifier la Loi orale en la déduisant de la Bible ou en l'y rattachant par des procédés dialectiques.[25]

> Ou peut dire également en gros que c'est de cette double fin, de cette double visée, interprétation désintéressée et exploitation juridique, que découlent les qualités et les défauts de l'exégèse rabbinique, les qualités se rattachant plutôt à la fin désintéressée, à l'exégèse pure, les défauts provenant en grande partie de la fin intéressée, de l'exégèse tendant à justifier la Loi.[26]

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[24]Joseph Bonsirven, Exégèse Rabbinique et Exégèse Paulinienne, Paris: Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1939, pp. 11-259.

[25]Ibid., p. 252

[26]Idem

> Ces qualités et défauts, nous les ramenons à trois; d'abord et avant tout, pénétration profonde de la lettre sacrée par un interprète sagace et croyant; faculté juridique fort déliée du juriste; fonction fabulatrice très inventive du prédicateur populaire, de l'haggadiste.[27]

Thus three specific types of interpretation may be discerned: Midrash, Halakah, and Haggadah. Although these types interacted,[28] an examination of each would be of value.

The rabbinic method of Scriptural exposition is termed Midrash. This term, which literally means "investigation,"[29] "denotes both the occupation, the expounding of Scripture, and its result, the exposition arrived at."[30] Midrash focuses solely upon the Scripture, which represents the expressed will and purpose of God. It rejects the possibility of contradictions in the sacred text and maintains that by careful and reverent study the intended meaning--either literal or symbolic--may be perceived. The primary basis for this approach rests on careful and precise study of the text, i.e., particles, punctuation, the evaluation of variant readings,

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[27] Ibid., p. 253

[28] Ibid., p. 252

[29] Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1931, p. 6.

[30] J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, op. cit., p. 55.

examination of nuances of meaning, grammatical analysis, and other philological techniques. The data of philological examination is then evaluated dialectically, i.e., in terms of usage elsewhere and scholarly thought. Hence, the basis for interpretation is somewhat similar to that of the other types of exegesis, Halakah and Haggadah; however, in midrashic study interpretation is controlled and restrained by the written Law and is not unduly influenced by extraneous material; at the same time literalism is avoided by the use of analogical, symbolic, and metaphorical interpretation.[31] Midrash is found--although infrequently--in the wealth of Halakic and Haggadic Midrashim present in the developed rabbinic literature.[32] The sitz im leben of this form is to be found primarily in the home and the discussion of the rabbis.[33]

Halakah, on the other hand, is concerned with the specific formulation of the Torah, in order to apply it to concrete situations in everyday life; its aim is "the regulation of life through the law."[34] Although the halakic formulations may have arisen in part from the activity indicated above, indications are present that many halakic formulations antedate the attempt to support them from Scripture.[35] These independent halakic formulations should be regarded as the expression of the oral "traditions of the fathers,"

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[31]The material in this paragraph up to this point is taken from Bonsirven, ibid., pp. 254-257.

[32]Wilhelm Bacher, "Bible Exegesis," The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. Cyrus Adler, et. al., New York: Funk and Wagnalls, Co., 1912, Vol. III, p. 164.

[33]Bonsirven, op. cit., p. 254.

[34]Strack, op. cit., p. 202

[35]Ibid., pp. 10, 23

the product of a long period of growth.[36] By the first century A.D. collections of Halakah seem to have been in existence.[37] Somewhere around this period the form of Midrash was adopted for the presentation of Halakic material:[38]

> ...when it came to teaching the Halakah, the form of Midrash was resorted to at an early date, in all probability long before the form of Mishna was at all thought of. The presentation of the body of traditional lore took on the form of scriptural exposition, the written Torah served as the thread for stringing together the traditional matter.[39]

After this development, the method may properly be termed Midrash Halakah. The Law, formulated as specific norms for life, remained at the center of scholarly concern. By "Law" is intended the Torah written and oral; indeed, the latter--the oral Law--often has priority and leads to alterations, distortions, and modifications of the written text.[40] Nevertheless, the written text and the accepted tradition imparted to Halakah firm authority for the regulation of the daily life of the faithful. In addition, the interpretative process was not capricious; it was effected by trained teachers working with relatively fixed interpretative norms. The stability of schclarship is attested by the tradition of the "Men of the Great Synagogue," the appearance of the "pairs" and their successors, and the emergence of the Tannaim and

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[36] Strack, ibid., p. 12

[37] Ibid., pp. 20-23

[38] Ibid., p. 23

[39] Idem

[40] Bonsirven, ibid., p. 257f.

Amoraim.[41] The fixed interpretative norms find their first extant expression in the seven middoth of Hillel,[42] then in the thirteen middoth of R. Ishmael and the thirty-two middoth of R. Eliezer ben Jose Ha-gelili.[43]

Whereas Halakah sought to make clear the relevance of the Torah for daily life, Haggadah was intended to motivate the faithful to obey the Torah. Although probably at first the term had a general application, including interpretation of a juridical nature, at an early date it was restricted to denote a non-halakic explanation.[44] Haggadic exegesis therefore is interpretation which is not connected with the Law;[45] rather, it is intended to provide religious edification, moral instruction, and sustenance for the life of faith of the hearers.[46] Haggadah is exegesis from a religious and ethical standpoint; it undertook to influence the mind of man and induce him to lead a religious and moral life.[47] The term "haggadah" itself is regarded as a nomen actionis of higgid;

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[41] Strack, ibid., pp. 105-134 [42] Ibid., pp. 93f.

[43] Ibid., pp. 95-98

[44] J. Theodor, "Midrash Haggadah," The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. Cyrus Adler, et. al., New York: Funk and Wagnalls., Co., 1904, Vol. VIII, p. 550, citing Wilhelm Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten, Second Edition, Strassburg, 1903, pp. 461 et. seq.

[45] W. Bacher, "Bible Exegesis," op. cit., p. 163.

[46] J. Theodor, op. cit., p. 550

[47] Idem

> The students of Scripture search in Holy Writ, and the Scripture word tells, maggid, them then something which transcends the first impression conveyed by the Scriptural expression.[48]

Haggadah neither seeks to provide a midrash on the Scripture text nor a legal norm for life; rather the desired aim is inspiration and motivation.

Examples of Haggadah are only extant in late, developed material, i.e., the Talmuds and the Midrashim; to assume that the developed forms necessarily present illustrations of early Haggadah would be erroneous. However, Bacher has demonstrated that the Haggadah of the Amoraim is a continuation of that of the Tannaim, and that no real difference is to be found between the two.[49] Thus, although the extant Haggadah may be late, essentially the extant data is reliable. Jacob Mann indicates that some of the Seder homilies of the Palestinian Triennial Cycle probably can be traced back to the First Century A.D.;[50] likewise, Strack suggests the possibility of Haggadic collections by this time.[51] Judging from the extant Haggadah, haggadic interpretation was topical; it focused on "the central themes of God and His rule and Israel and its destiny, in

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[48]Strack, op. cit., p. 7

[49]W. Bacher, Die Agada der palaestinischen. Amoraeer, Strassburg, 1892, Vol. I, pp. viii et. seq., cited by J. Theodor, op. cit. p. 551.

[50]Jacob Mann, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, Vol. I: The Palestinian Triennial Cycle: Genesis and Exodus, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1940, pp. 5, 28.

[51]Strack, op. cit., p. 21

addition to numerous other topics of ethics and morality."[52] Centered on the particular topic, material from Scripture was artistically combined into units by the use of homiletic technique;[53] in addition, relevant proverbs, parables, allegories, and stories were also used.[54] Haggadah furnished material for the sermon in synagogue worship;[55] discourses were also delivered in private dwellings and in the open, on Sabbaths, festivals, and important public or private occasions.[56] In supporting the oral Law, Haggadah provided luxuriant embellishments on the Biblical narrative and historical inventions to explain or glorify a Biblical person; it tended to whitewash Israelite heros, to give names to anonymous persons, to relate a moral maxim to an illustrious person, to take liberties with the text to eliminate a contradiction, and to elaborate on fantastic etymologies.[57] Strack maintains that the middoth of Halakah were followed;[58] on the hand, Zunz does not accept haggadic middoth.[59]

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[52]Mann, op. cit., p. 28; e.g., in the Y homily to Seder 1 the topic is "blessing," pp. 23-29.

[53]Ibid., p. 28

[54]J. Theodor, op. cit., p. 551

[55]Bacher, "Bible Exegesis," op. cit., p. 163

[56]Strack, op. cit., pp. 202f.

[57]Bonsirven, op. cit., pp. 258f.

[58]Strack, op. cit., p. 93

[59]L. Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vortraege der Juden, Berlin, 1832, pp. 325 et. seq., cited by J. Theodor, op. cit., p. 554

At Qumran, the study of the Torah was also of primary importance. This conviction is well-expressed in the rule of the community, The Manual of Discipline.[60] Yet this study of the Torah differed in purpose from that of the Rabbis.

> . . .there was a long tradition of study in postexilic Judaism. But, with some notable exceptions, this endeavor, as far as the Law is concerned, was cultivated by the priests and directed mainly toward a mastery of established traditions; if held in ever-present readiness, these could be applied to any given situation. Although the traditions were ultimately based on midrashim, the chief concern of the schools was the correct preservation of the teachings, and their value lay in their practical application.
>
> In the sectarian writings, however, we find (besides interest in the pragmatic side of scriptural exegesis) an emphasis on study for its own sake, on nonpractical, pure study, on study that approaches the character of worship.[61]

Although not totally absent in the teaching of the rabbis,[62] this emphasis on study almost as a form of worship was certainly present in Qumran; yet the words quoted are slightly misleading in inferring that the study was possibly "disinterested." On the contrary, the chief aim of the study of the Torah--including the Prophets and the Writings--was the discernment of the hidden meanings and mysteries which God spoke through the prophets. These scriptures were applied to events and persons of the sect's

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[60] i, 11-12; vi, 6-9; viii, 14-16; ix, 18-19; also see the War Scroll, x, 10.

[61] Glatzer, op. cit., pp. 235-236.

[62] Sifre Deut. 11:13; Glatzer, op. cit., p. 236.

own time, and were used for elucidation and interpretation of the significance of these events.[63] This concern with the detailed interpretation of scripture in conjunction with the eschatological framework of the group points up another distinguishing characteristic of Qumran compared to rabbinic interpretation. Whereas rabbinic interpretation regarded the Torah as a body of authoritative injunctions of equal authority, Qumran regarded the scripture as a vehicle for understanding the events of the end-time. Whereas rabbinic thought sought to reconcile differences, the sectarians of Qumran either selected portions which could be used to support their basic convictions or else made a detailed interpretation of a unit of scripture, in the light of their particular framework. The first of these methods may be observed in the The Manual of Discipline and the Damascus Document; the second in the Habakkuk Commentary, the fragment of the Florilegium, and the fragments of the commentaries on Psalm 37, Isaiah 10-11, Micah 1:5-7, and Nahum 2:11-13.

The exegetical method employed in this detailed exposition of scripture has been termed midrash pesher, the first term signifying "explanation" and the second being derived from the verb used as a pointer to signify the explanation.

> Pesher as we chiefly know it from the sect in the wilderness of Judaea is either an interpretation of a consecutive text, DSH and DSMicah, or it arises out of different fixed passages of text, CDC. It is always

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[63] The Habakkuk commentary offers the example par excellence of this concern.

> a question of textual exposition, however. . .what is typical to pesher is that in the exposition certain words and sentences from the text are repeated. In this case the words are preceded and followed by פשרו . . . . . אשר אמר.[64]

In addition to the term פשרו, it has been proposed that in other instances the Hebrew particle זה is an equivalent term.[65] This seems to be justified. In all instances, it is a matter of textual exposition. Nor does it seem possible at this point to adduce definite hermeneutic rules followed by the students of the Torah at Qumran.[66] Also, it is disputed whether textual variants were intentionally chosen in the midrash pesher of Qumran, or whether the alterations were the result of the text before them. The method of midrash pesher is nevertheless characteristic of much of the detailed study of the Dead Sea Community and is important for the assessment of the exegetical methods of the early church.

The method of buttressing their convictions with selected texts referred to above is also of importance. This method bears close resemblance to that of the rabbis: 1) a statement is made, 2) a citation formulae often appears, and 3) a portion of scripture is cited to support the statement. Although the rabbis

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[64] Gaertner, op. cit., pp. 12-13

[65] B. J. Roberts, "Damascus Document," in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 31 (1951-54), p. 375.

[66] Thirteen rules, suggested by Brownlee, are presented and discussed by Kistemaker, op. cit., p. 66-67. The rules seem to be observations made by Brownlee concerning pesher method more than hermeneutical laws which determine the way in which a passage was to be interpreted.

and the Qumran community took a different attitude toward the Scriptures, in method and external form there is similarity. The formula "it is written" is used repeatedly in the Mss., as well as the formula using "said" and citation formulae indicating the source.[67] In two instances no formulae are present, yet the citations seem clearly to fall into this category. It is important to note that in one instance different scriptures are adduced to support the statement.[68] This would indicate that the proofs from scripture were not necessarily fixed, but that they were drawn out of reflection and study. Significantly, this exegetical method is used not in detailed textual exposition--as midrash pesher--but in a running connected narration, designed as a definitive statement of the sect's outlook and program.

In addition to midrash pesher and the usage of supportive

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[67] "it is written": Manual of Discipline 5:15, 5:17, 8:14, Damascus Document 1:13 (A), 5:2(A), 19:2(B), 7:19(A), 9:5(A), 11:18(A), 11:20(A). "He said": Damascus Document 3:7(A), 7:8(A)-19:5(B), 7:14(a), 7:16(A), 19:11,12(B), 19:15(B), 20:16(B), 9:2(A), 9:9(A), 10:16(A), 16:15(A). "God said": 6:13(A), 8:9(A)-19:22(B), 9:7(A); (through Ezekiel:) 3:21-4:2(A), (through Isaiah son of Amoz:) 4:13,14(A). "Moses said": Damascus Document 5:8(A), 8:14(A)-19:26(B). "Isaiah said": Damascus Document 6:8(A), 7:10,11(A). "Zechariah said": 19:7(B).

[68] Versions A and B read as follows:

To all those that despise (them) shall God render the retribution of the wicked when He shall visit the land, when the word shall be accomplished which is written in the prophet Isaiah son of Amoz, who said: (Isaiah 7:17)	To all those that despise the commandments and the precepts, shall God render the retribution of the wicked when He shall visit the land, when the word written by the prophet Zachariah shall be accomplished: (Zachariah 12:7)

texts, in a few instances we find yet another exegetical method present in the Qumran Mss. This method may be termed "assimilation," for in the process of interpretation the text is fused and assimilated to the interpretation expressed in the sentence structure. In one instance, Damascus Document 7:2(A), it may not be intended, but in the other four passages the allusion is definite.[69] The last of these passages, also the longest, presents the clearest picture of the manner in which this exegetical method was used, and it is well to examine it closely at this point.

> But the men of Jacob that repented their iniquity have kept the Covenant of God. Then one man shall say to his fellow: "Let each man strengthen his brother and turn their feet toward the way of God." God has hearkened to their words; He has heard (them) and a book of remembrance has been written before Him for those that fear God and have regard for His Name, until salvation and righteousness shall be revealed to them that fear God. Ye shall again discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not. He shall show mercy a thousand times to them that love Him and to those who remain faithful unto Him for a thousand generations.[70]

This quotation demonstrates how the words from scripture are used not as a citation or proof-text but as an intrinsic part of the sentence structure, so intrinsic that only prior knowledge

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[69]Commentary on Genesis 49 fragment, Damascus Document 5:16,17(A), 6:3,4(A), 20:17-22.

[70]Following the rendering of Géza Vermès, Discovery in the Judean Desert, New York: Desclee Company, 1956, pp. 171-172. The underscored words are taken from Malachi 3:18, Exodus 20:6, and Deut. 7:9.

enables them to be recognized as scripture. All five instances of this interpretative method cited above have this characteristic. Behind this usage lies considerable study and reflection, so much so that the biblical phraseology has become part of the thought of the writer. It is a striking fact that this method of "assimilation" occurs in a narrative. Judging from New Testament usage, which we shall discuss below, one would expect it in hymnic or apocalyptic material, yet very little appears in the Thanksgiving Psalms, the Final Canticle at the end of the Manual of Discipline, or in the War Scroll.

Five exegetical methods have been noted in rabbinic and Qumran interpretation: halakic midrash, haggadic midrash, midrash pesher, supportive citation, and assimilation. Each of these is used chiefly, although not exclusively, among particular groups for specific functional purposes. Halakic midrash, using supportive texts, was used by the rabbis for juridical pronouncements, usually in brief, concise statements. Haggadic midrash, using at times supportive texts, was used by the rabbis to embody their concepts in stories, parables, legends, etc., delivered in the form of rabbinic sermons. The Qumran sectarians made use of supportive texts to justify their particular views in the narratives of the Manual of Discipline and the Damascus Document, which gave cohesive expression to their ideology. For detailed, textual study of the Scripture, carried out in the light of their

principles, they employed midrash pesher.[71] The fifth method, that of assimilation, seems to play no major role either in Qumran or among the rabbis.[72] Just as these specific methods are not restricted to either of the groups considered, so the scripture passages involved are not interpreted only by the method with which they are now associated in the material before us. In fact, in several instances the passages display a fusion of method. In Damascus Document 3:6-11 supportive text and midrash pesher are partially present. Damascus Document 4:13,14 is a supportive text, but is also combined with midrash pesher. Both Damascus Document 20:16(B) and 16:15(A) are citation formulae quotations, yet they are assimilated into the syntax of the sentence. Most interesting of all is a passage from the Damascus Document, in which a scripture passage stands as a formula citation in one version and an allusion in the parallel:

Version A 8:1-5	Version B 19:13-17
This shall be the lot of all members of His Covenant, who shall not be steadfast in these precepts: they shall be visited by destruction at the hand of Belial. This is the day when God shall make His visitation. -- "It is upon the princes of Judah over whom the wrath shall be poured out." For they	This shall also be the lot of all members of His Covenant who shall not pay heed to the malediction (that pertains) to the precepts: they shall be visited by the hand of Belial. This is the day when God shall make His visitation, as He hath said: "The princes of Judah were like them that remove

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[71] Infrequent instances are also found in the Mishnah: e.g., using the pointer "this is," Sotah 8:4, Taanith 4:8.

[72] Assimilative midrash is also found in the Mishnah: e.g., Nazir 6:8,9, Sotah 8:1,2,6.

hoped for healing, but He has crushed all the rebels because they did not forsake the way of the traitors . . .	the bound; upon them I shall pour out My wrath." For they have entered into the Covenant of repentance, but they have not forsaken the way of the traitors . . .

It is apparent that the same scripture verse--Hosea 5:10--is being reflected in both passages. The question is: which usage has priority? Obviously one is dependent upon the other. The normal inclination is to see in the citation of Version B the earliest implementation of the passage, for it lies closest to the surface. Yet Millar Burrows suggests that probably Version B is the later of the two;[73] this suggestion is supported by the phrase "the malediction which pertains to the precepts" in version B, which seems to reflect the curse inflicted upon the transgressors in Manual of Discipline 2:6f. The same inference is partially supported by the reading of B "the Covenant of repentance" instead of A's "they hoped for healing." If this view is justified, it is surprising that the usage has moved from the implicit allusion to the explicit formula citation.

Although the scripture passage was not inextricably joined to one particular method of interpretation, certain methods of exegesis contain inherent limitations. Thus the method midrash pesher is well suited for detailed exegesis, but it is a cumbersome and awkward method in extended narrative. Assimilative midrash is well suited for extended narrative, but it assumes a thorough

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[73]Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit., p. 193.

knowledge of the Scriptures; if this knowledge is not present in the hearer or reader, then the allusion would not be recognized. Thus midrash pesher has a styllistic handicap, and assimilation has a circumstantial one. Haggadic midrash, as we have seen, tends to be disconnected and requires a formal bond. Halakic midrash is restricted by the fact that it is designed to transmit juridical decisions. Thus the usage of supportive texts is of the most value for connected discourse and continuous narrative. However, such a text can become superfluous, for the statement which it supports, once accepted, can stand alone. This is evident in Damascus Document 7:6(A)-19:5(B).[74] Each of the exegetical methods discussed have inherent limitations, being suited for particular needs, purposes, and literary forms.

We may now turn to a discussion of New Testament usage, in an effort to determine in what way and for what reasons these exegetical methods are used by New Testament writers. In the course of the discussion the attempt will also be made to determine whether the NT writers make use of a unique method. We may turn first to a discussion of midrash pesher. It is evident that this method is pursued by at least two authors in the New Testament: the author of

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[74]Version B cites Deut. 7:9 with a formula in support of the phrase that the faithful "are assured of life for thousands of generations," whereas version A simply says, "are assured of life for a thousand generations." If version B is later, this citation may be regarded as an insertion; however, the fact that the phrase "to a thousand generations" occurs in the Scriptural passage indicates that the passage supports A and not B. It may therefore be suggested that the phrase dropped out in A.

"To the Hebrews" and Paul. The former uses the method consistently and completely in his exposition of the passages which he selects from the Psalms. This fact has been clearly and indisputably demonstrated.[75] In Paul, the method receives clear embodiment in Romans 10:5-9, where he gives a running commentary on Deuteronomy 30:12-14 using the pesher phrase "this is." In both cases, the writer is concerned with a detailed textual exposition of the passage and its significance for Christian faith. In no case is a passage from Second Isaiah so interpreted.

Krister Stendahl has proposed that many other instances of midrash pesher lie in or behind the New Testament documents.[76] However, this view is based on a definition of midrash pesher differing from that above. This method has two features for Stendahl. First, the interpretation is integrated into the text itself, thereby determining its textual form, a process aided by the selection of phrases from various renderings at hand in Qumran. Stendahl classes the textual alterations as, one, changes of number and suffix, and, two, more substantial modifications.[77] In the "formula" quotations of Matthew Stendahl sees this textual alteration and the application to Christ. Secondly, the method has an apocalyptic feature in which the passage is considered to

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[75]Simon Kistemaker, op. cit.

[76]Kirster Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, Uppsala, 1954.

[77]Ibid., pp. 185-190.

be "fulfilled" in contemporary persons--the Teacher of Righteousness and others--and concurrent events. E. Earle Ellis accepts this definition, and traces the same method in Paul.[78]

However, Bertil Gaertner, in an incisive and devastating review of Stendahl's book, demonstrates that it is "misleading to use the word pesher for the material in Matthew."[79] In addition, he challenges and thoroughly shakes Stendahl's contentions. With respect to textual variations, Gaertner shows that 1) all passages upon which Stendahl's views are based contain difficulties, 2) the sectarians delighted in play on words brought about by change of radicals, and 3) differing texts can be accounted for by basic variant textual forms.[80] This last objection receives confirmation from our conclusions above. In regard to apocalyptic fulfillment, Gaertner demonstrates that the New Testament and Qumran communities differed in their attitude toward Scripture. Whereas in the Habakkuk Commentary we find "a uniquely apocalyptic type of exposition in which parts of the history are actualized and must serve as prophecies for the present time,"[81] in Matthew we find a searching "for texts which may show that the prophecies were fulfilled in Jesus the Messiah."[82] The former is based on a consecutive text,

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[78]Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, op. cit., pp. 139-147.

[79]Gaertner, op. cit., p. 12.

[80]Ibid., pp. 2-6

[81]Ibid., p. 12

[82]Ibid., p. 7

the latter on a consecutive story with only occasional reference to prophecies in Scripture.[83] Gaertner goes on to criticize Stendahl's handling of the New Testament material,[84] and the Sitz im Leben suggested by Stendahl.[85]

In this controversy, it is clear that Gaertner is basically correct; it is unfortunate that Ellis, whose book is otherwise excellent, did not have occasion to consult Gaertner's review written two years before. Moreover, it may be added that midrash pesher is not bound to an apocalyptic framework. In Paul and the author of "To the Hebrews" this framework lies in the background. However, in the apostolic fathers at least two examples may be found where no eschatological context is present. II Clement 2:1-5 reads:

> "Rejoice thou barren that barest not; break forth and cry thou that travailest not; for the children of the deserted are many more than hers that hath a husband." In saying, "Rejoice, thou barren that barest not," he meant us, for our church was barren before children were given her. And in saying, "Cry thou that travailest not," he means this,--that we should offer our prayers in sincerity to God, and not grow weary as women that give birth. And in saying, "For the children of the deserted are many more than hers that hath a husband," he meant that our people seemed to be deserted by God, but that now we who have believed have become many more than those who seemed to have God. And another Scripture also says, "I came not to call righteous, but sinners"; He means that those who are perishing must be saved, for it is great and wonderful to give strength, not to the

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[83] Ibid., p. 14

[84] Ibid., pp. 16-22

[85] Ibid., pp. 22-24

> things which are standing, but to those which are falling.[86]

Here we find the citation of Scripture, the usage of the terms "in saying. . .he means," and the repetition of phrases and words from the scripture passage. The same method is as clearly exemplified in II Clement 12:1-6. II Clement is considered a didactic exhortation in sermonic form, and it is noteworthy that this method of detailed exposition is used by him.

Many instances of what Stendahl and Ellis consider to be midrash pesher is actually what has been termed above "assimilation," the method by which scriptural phrases and words are fused with non-scriptural phrases to make a complete statement. This method is extensively used in the New Testament and apparently finds its usage among different functions of the church. Although it is difficult to determine the exact function out of which a passage containing an assimilated scripture arose, it may be attempted with caution. At the beginning, it should be mentioned that we cannot hope to cover exhaustively the New Testament usage. Nevertheless, it will be possible, using evidence derived from both citations and allusions, to illustrate the usage of this method.

This usage may be classified as "didactic," "prophetic," "apocalyptic," etc., depending upon the tenor of the passage, its purpose, and the circle out of which it emerged. Admittedly,

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[86]Quoting the rendering of Kirsopp Lake, in The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. I in The Loeb Classical Library, op. cit., p. 131.

distinctions of this nature are not always absolute, as the usage may shade from one class to another. For instance, "cultic" usage always has a shade of "confessional," as does the "hymnic" and "homiletic." Nevertheless, some instances are present where the interest is almost completely "confessional" on the part of the church; others are present where, although the matter is viewed in the light of the faith, the assimilations are "personal." "Didactic" also may be partially "confessional," yet some instances are strictly "didactic." The "prophetic-apocalyptic" assimilations also can be clearly distinguished.

In the New Testament usage of Isaiah Chapters 40-66 no less than sixty-six instances of assimilation may be found. Twenty-one instances of didactic assimilation may be found. Of these five are in the teaching of Jesus,[87] and four in the teaching of Paul.[88] The tradition of the church may be seen in the ten instances which reflect traditional teaching.[89] In one instance, if the passage be regarded as authentic, we even have an instance of assimilative

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[87]Isaiah 55:1-2 # Mtt. 5:6, Lk. 6:21; Isaiah 57:15 # Mtt. 5:3, Lk. 6:20; Isaiah 61:1,2 # Mtt. 5:3-6,12, 11:5, Luke 6:20,21,23, 7:22; Isaiah 56:7 /// Matt 21:13, Mk. 11:17, Luke 19:46.

[88]Isaiah 43:9 # II Cor. 5:17; Isaiah 55:10 # II Cor. 9:10; Isaiah 40:13 /// I Cor. 2:16; Isaiah 59:7-8 /// Rom. 3:15-17. The last two, though discussed as citations are clearly also assimilations.

[89]Isaiah 59:17 # I Thess. 5:8; Isaiah 59:7 # Eph. 6:14,17; Isaiah 52:7 # Eph. 6:15; Isaiah 57:19 # Eph. 2:13-15; Isaiah 52:7 # Acts 10:36; Isaiah 42:5 # Acts 17:24,25; Isaiah 50:6 # John 19:3; Isaiah 43:20-21 # I Peter 2:9; Isaiah 53:12 # Heb. 9:28; Isaiah 55:3 # Heb. 13:20.

midrash on the part of the scribes whom Jesus confronted.[90]

The second largest group is found largely--though not entirely--in the Apocalypse of John: the prophetic-apocalyptic assimilations. By this term is signified assimilated midrash which supports and elaborates on apocalyptic themes, seemingly derived from Christian prophets. As remarked above in several instances, the Revelation of John reflects an interpretative process in which remarkable fusion of different scriptural passages and interpretative alterations of the text took place. Among other instances, this fusion and alteration of text was explored above with reference to the citation of Isaiah 52:11 in II Corinthians 6:17, of Isaiah 40:10, 66:15, 62:12 in Revelation 3:11, 22:7,12, and of Isaiah 49:10 in Revelation 21:6, 22:17. Numerous other instances may be cited. This fusion and alteration of texts must of necessity have arisen out of extensive study of and reflection on the Scripture. This type of assimilative midrash is to be found in at least seventeen instances.[91]

The third type of assimilative midrash--confessional--is

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[90] Isaiah 43:25, 55:7 # Mark 2:6, Luke 5:21

[91] Isaiah 64:4 # I Cor. 2:9; Isaiah 66:15 # II Thess. 1:8; the remainder are in the Revelation of John: Isaiah 40:2, 47:6 # 18:6; Isaiah 40:10, 62:12, 66:15 # 3:11, 22:7,12; Isaiah 43:19 # 21:5; Isaiah 44:6, 48:12 # 1:8,17, 2:8, 21:6, 22:13; Isaiah 47:8 # 18:7,8; Isaiah 48:2, 52:1, 61:10 # 21:2,10,27; Isaiah 52:11 # 18:4; Isaiah 54:11 # 21:18f.; Isaiah 49:10, 55:1 # 21:6, 22:17; Isaiah 60:11,13 # 21:25,26; Isaiah 65:15 # 2:17; Isaiah 63:1-3,6 # 14:20; Isaiah 65:17, 66:22 # 20:11, 21:1; Isaiah 65:17,19 # 7:17, 21:4; Isaiah 66:6 # 16:1,17

displayed primarily in the gospel narratives. In this type of assimilative midrash, material is used to bear witness to the meaning of Christ and His person. Of the thirteen instances of this type of assimilative midrash,[92] two concern his passion,[93] one reflects his authority on earth,[94] one concerns his status as Son,[95] and five allude to His power as Lord.[96]

The remaining groups are all much smaller. In five instances, all related to Paul,[97] assimilative midrash is used to interpret personal experience and faith. In four instances, all within the birth narratives of Luke,[98] the assimilations are decidedly cultic in flavor. In three instances, in Philippians 2:9-11 and Revelations 7:16, the instances are clearly hymnic in character.

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[92]Isaiah 49:10 # Jn. 4:14; Isaiah 65:17, 66:22 # II Peter 3:13; Isaiah 43:11-12, 44:8 # Luke 24:48, Acts 1:8,22, 2:32, 3:14,15, et. al., see above; Isaiah 43:25, 55:7 # Mk. 2:6, Lk 5:21. The remainder are cited in footnotes numbered 93, 94, 95, 96.

[93]Isaiah 50:6 # Mk. 14:65, 15:15, Matt. 26:67, 27:26; Isaiah 53:7 # Mk. 14:61, 15:5

[94]Isaiah 42:1 # Mk 1:11, 9:7; Matt. 3:17, 17:5

[95]Isaiah 42:1 # II Peter 1:17

[96]Isaiah 40:8 # Matt 24:35; Mk. 13:31; Isaiah 52:13 # Acts 2:33, 3:13, 5:31; Isaiah 40:5, 61:1,2 # Luke 9:32; Isaiah 40:5 # Jn. 1:14; Isaiah 60:1-3 # Jn. 1:4, 8:12

[97]Isaiah 49:1 # Gal. 1:15; Isaiah 49:4 # Phil. 2:16; Isaiah 49:13 # II Cor. 7:4,6,9; Isaiah 42:7 # Acts 26:18; Isaiah 42:16 # Acts 26:18

[98]Isaiah 66:2 # Lk. 2:25; Isaiah 40:5, 52:10 # Lk. 2:30; Isaiah 41:8,9 # Lk. 1:54,55; Isaiah 49:6 # Lk. 2:32

It is noteworthy that these passages display almost the same degree of fusion as the prophetic-apocalyptic class.[99] Two linguistic assimilations appear,[100] and in I Peter 2:22,24,25 we find the single but extremely significant instance of homiletic assimilation. This last instance is distinguished from the prophetic-apocalyptic and hymnic usage in that it is based on one text, of which it gives a running, assimilative midrashic interpretation. No fusion of different texts is to be found in it.

It was remarked above in the discussion of this method in the Qumran literature that the passages are not necessarily bound to one type of exegetical method. This remains true also for the New Testament material. Behind some of the assimilations it is possible to infer--without any definiteness--the exegetical method which may have been employed within the Christian tradition at an earlier stage. Such conjectures are suggested in Appendix D.

Assimilative midrash was clearly one of the major exegetical methods employed by the early church. Although some of the allusions may have been more or less unintentional, a large number

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[99]It seems likely that the passage cited with a CF in I Cor. 2:9, which is only indirectly related to Isaiah 64:4, is a hymnic creation of a prophetic-apocalyptic circle (see above). It is worth observing that the same passage is cited--as Scripture--in II Clement 11:7 and 14:5. Although the writer of II Clement may have been dependent upon Paul, it is not impossible that a common source lies below both. The passage is characterized by the same alteration and fusion of texts as we see in the Revelation.

[100]Isaiah 58:6 # Acts 8:23; Isaiah 58:11 # Jn. 1:14, 7:38

of them were not and constitute valid scriptural exegesis. The same method may be found in some of the Apostolic Fathers, who no doubt were one with the New Testament in this usage and in the common life of the early church. Especially marked is this method in II Clement (eleven assimilations), The Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians (at least seventy-five assimilations), The Didache (most of the sixty six allusions are assimilations). I Clement has a few, whereas Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus have practically none. In the light of the preponderance of scriptural assimilations in the Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians, the comment in the Martyrdom of Polycarp (16:2) that he was an "apostolic and prophetic teacher" is of importance; it supports the contention that such a method was chiefly practiced in prophetic and didactic circles.

After this discussion of midrash pesher and assimilative midrash, our attention may now be turned to the methods of halakah, haggadah, and supportive texts. No clear example of halakah may be found in the usage of the passages from II and III Isaiah. This lack of usage is probably due to the nature of the New Testament material. In addition, there are only a few cases of Haggadah. Ellis has indicated several in the case of Paul, whereas Doeve has detected some instances in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.[101] Two of the instances cited by Doeve are

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[101]Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, op. cit.; Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, op. cit.

cases in which passages from Second Isaiah are involved. The first instance is in Acts 13. According to Doeve, the interpreter began with II Samuel 7:6-16 and on the basis of the term "Son" made the transition to Psalm 2; by means of verse 7 he was led to cite from the "Prophets," Isaiah 55:3, in which the terms "David" and "ruler and commander of the peoples" call to mind Psalm 16:10. By the combination of the two, Isaiah 55:3 and Psalm 16:10, the "hallowed things" of David is taken to mean the resurrection. This conclusion is almost in complete agreement with the conclusion derived from the study above. Doeve maintains that "in the argument of Acts 13 the work of a schooled rabbi is quite perceptible."[102] A second instance is found in James 2, where Doeve maintains that "an excellent example of haggadic midrash" concerning justification is given.[103]

The large majority of citations of II Isaiah in the New Testament may be regarded neither as halakah nor as haggadsh in the sense described above. The second principal exegetical method--in addition to assimilative midrash--may be described in part as a combination of the two methods and in part as a deviation from them. Like halakah, which was focused on the transmission and correlation of oral and written Torah, Christian interpretation was focused upon what may be regarded as a single object: the crucified and resurrected Lord. Like halakah, therefore, Christian exegesis

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[102]Doeve, op. cit., p. 175.

[103]Ibid., p. 223.

devoted to the interpretation and presentation of the significance of the Christ-event had a singular unity. Unlike halakah, however, it was not a process of transmission and correlation of prior interpretations, but a reflective and--to some degree--a creative process. In that this interpretation was centered in life situations and persons, it was similar to haggadah, which has been defined above as the reflection of rabbinic values in stories of real situations and persons. However, this usage on the part of the church differs from haggadah. Whereas the former took the form of illustrations used to support sermonic points and were independent in themselves, the Christian interpretation concerning the person and event of the Christ were not illustrations but the proclamation itself, and each aspect of the proclamation was a part of an integral whole.

The distinctiveness of this exegetical method becomes clear when particular passages are examined. Isaiah 40:3-5, appearing in citation form in all three Synoptic Gospels and in a more assimilated form in the fourth gospel, was for the Qumran community the prophetic call to the study of the Torah. The actualization of the meaning of this Scripture was not restricted to any one person, not even to the Teacher of Righteousness, but was a corporate function. At first a similar call to fulfillment by repentance was extended by the Baptist, but even within the Gospels the shift in emphasis to the person of Jesus is clear. The emphasis is no longer on "prepare the way," but upon "the coming of the Lord." The person of Jesus stands here in the very center of this interpretation, and in the person himself this scripture finds its

meaning. A second instance is Isaiah 42:1-4, used in Matthew for the specific purpose of explaining Jesus' injunction to silence. However, behind the immediate usage may be discerned a long process of interpretation, all with reference to the person and work of Christ. The same is true of the application in Luke 22:37 of Isaiah 53:12 to Jesus.

It is clear that the event of the Christ included his earthly ministry and death, his resurrection, and the ongoing work of the Lord through His church. This is evident in the import of Isaiah 53:7-8 in Acts 8:32,33; there the clause "in his humiliation justice was denied him" is related to the crucifixion, whereas the clauses "And his generation who can declare? For his life is taken up from the earth" refer to his resurrection and exaltation. The unitary nature of this method of interpretation is evident; whereas Targum Jonathan indicates that in popular exegesis phrases from Isaiah 53 were assigned in part to the Messiah and in part to the people, in the New Testament--at least with reference to these verses--it is the singular figure of the Risen Lord who stands in the center.[104] Moreover, it is the figure of the active Risen Lord who is prominent in passages which present the scriptural support for the proclamation of the gospel. Hence, in Romans the plaintive question of Isaiah 53:1a is related to the lack of response to the preaching of the kerygma and is addressed to the

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[104]J. F. Stenning, ed., The Targum of Isaiah, Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1949, pp. 178-181, especially p. 180.

risen Lord; in John 12:37,38 the figure of the Lord is even more explicitly in the center of the fulfillment of Isaiah 53:1a,b. In the same way, Isaiah 65:1,2 in Romans 10:20,21 is applied to the continuous call to belief. Although explicitly implemented to explain the meaning of the Pauline mission, the usage of Isaiah 49:6 in Acts 13:47 and Isaiah 52:15 in Romans 15:21 reflects the conviction that the Risen Lord was vigorously active through His apostle. In the usage of Isaiah 54:1 in Galatians 4:27, in which place the scripture is ascribed to the church, the same principle of application finds its fullest expression. The life, death and resurrection of Jesus, and his continuing activity through His church, is at the very center of this distinctive method of scriptural exegesis.

Precisely the same method of exegesis was used by Jesus himself in his teaching and in some of the instructions concerning his mission.[105] One instance of this may be found in the usage of Isaiah 61:1-2 in Luke 4:18. No doubt this passage was of great significance to Luke and his community, for in many ways--as remarked above--it occupies a place in the Lukan tradition similar to that of Isaiah 42:1-4 in the tradition of Matthew. Yet, contrary to the view of some modern scholars indicated above, it is difficult to discount this passage as the interpretative product of the early church. If it stood alone the case might be otherwise,

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[105] See Guenther Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, trans. by Irene and Fraser McLuskey, New York: Harper and Bros., 1960, especially pp. 57, 67-68, 99.

but it does not. The passage appears not only as an explicit citation in Luke, but--as demonstrated above--stands behind several of the Beatitudes and the reply of Jesus to the emissaries of John; all these passages are unquestionably words of Jesus. Therefore, it is certain that this passage stood behind Jesus' understanding of his own mission, a fact which we will need to explore further in the next chapter. Here it may be noted that Jesus has used the same method which is under discussion: he has taken a passage from Scripture and considered it as actualized in his own person. What is more, this actualization is considered to be a part of a cohesive whole, especially as the early church reflected on the Christ-event.

This then is the first distinctive exegetical method employed by the church, a method which was derived as much from the peculiar circumstances surrounding the Christian proclamation as from intent. It possessed the unitary character of halakah, and thus its compelling authority; it possessed the concentration on real events of haggadah, and thus its compelling appeal. It involved the actualization of powerful beliefs in real persons and events, and thus its peculiar character. Even though a name has not been devised for this method, for convenience sake it will be termed "Christian haggadah," in the appropriate Appendix.

The fourth exegetical method was used by the church, the rabbis and Qumran: supportive texts. In this usage particular texts are adduced to support convictions or arguments. The method is not distinguished from the above by the introductory formulae,

but by the fact that the texts are used to explain or support not a person or an event, but a belief or a proposition. Usually found in a running, connected narration, all instances of this exegetical method, with two exceptions, are found in the letters of Paul. In some instances Paul seems to have utilized the passages himself and not to have received them from church tradition, e.g., Isaiah 40:13 /// Rom. 11:34, 35; Isaiah 52:7 /// Rom. 10:15; Isaiah 52:5 /// Rom. 2:24. In other instances Paul seems to derive the passage from tradition, although he may apply another meaning to it. In II Cor. 6:2 Paul uses Isaiah 49:8 as an exhortation, although in the tradition it seems to have been an injunction for immediate decision, based on the identification of Jesus as Lord. In Rom 14:11 Paul uses Isaiah 45:23 to prove the inevitability of standing before the judgment seat of the Lord, although in the tradition it was used to interpret the exaltation of the Risen Lord. Paul's use of Isaiah 53:1 in Rom. 10:15,16, referred to above, seems to be based on tradition. The citation of Isaiah 59:7,8, along with other citations, seem to have been taken from a Christian "Psalm of Lamentation." Isaiah 59:20,21, which in the church may have been applied to the person and power of the Risen Lord and the motif of the "new Jerusalem," is used by Paul in Romans 11:26 to prove that "all Israel will be saved." The same supportive text usage is found in the non-Pauline writings. Isaiah 40:6-8 is adduced in I Peter 1:24 to prove the permanence and eternal efficacy of the "preached word," perhaps on the basis of church usage. Lastly, Isaiah 66:1,2 is cited, according to Acts 7:49,50, by Stephen as

scriptural support for his invective against the Temple. In all these instances scripture is cited as proof of the particular person's thesis or contention; this usage as noted above finds parallels in Qumran and among the rabbis.

Five methods have been considered in this section: halakic midrash, haggadic midrash, midrash pesher, assimilative midrash, supportive citations, and the Christian midrash focusing on fulfillment in persons or events. Of these the first is not used; the second is used rarely, as is the third; the fourth is used extensively, especially within certain circles; the fifth is used extensively in the argumentative letters of Paul; the sixth represents the peculiar product of Christian interpretation of the person and event of Jesus Christ. May any inferences be made concerning their "life-situation"?

Sitz im Leben

No absolute answer to the above question may be given; we must work strictly on the basis of inferences. We have noted that the exegetical methods are to a degree determined by the purpose and function which the scripture served within the church. This is most obvious with respect to midrash pesher and assimilative midrash. Clearly midrash pesher is designed for detailed, explicit explanation of Scripture in the light of the particular views held by the expounder. This detailed explanation is most appealing and most useful in an activity concerned with the detailed understanding of scripture, i.e., as a part of a teaching situation in

which only persons already within the group are involved. This is precisely the situation which we find in Qumran; for this reason this inference receives some support from the usage there.[106] By the same token, interest would be difficult to sustain and the explanation would not be clear if this method was used in a discourse addressed to outsiders. Yet on occasion this method may be employed for detailed, sermonic explanation of a passage within a narrative which makes use of other methods.[107] Thus the sitz im leben of midrash pesher may be regarded as an in-group, teaching situation. Out of the same milieu assimilative midrash arises, for this method involves detailed and accepted interpretation of particular scripture. Yet the method itself may not be used for detailed explanation; no extensive usage of this method in this way is found. Rather, the method is most apparent in prophetic sources, e.g., the Revelation, and in exhortative discourses, e.g., the Letter of Polycarp. It is also useful in a homiletic discourse to an in-group, e.g., I Peter, and in the liturgical and meditative life of the church, e.g., "cultic," "hymnic" and "confessional" instances. The exegetical methods of haggadah, supportive citations, and fulfilled haggadah are all of great importance in situations requiring proof. Therefore, it may be suggested that these methods were used most extensively in apologetic situations

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[106] The pesher expositions, e.g., Habbakkuk, seem to be designed for and the product of the expository work which took place among the members of the Qumran community.

[107] See the patristic citations above.

and in the proclamation of the kerygma, the first and third especially in the Jewish environment. As noted above, just as the method employed in the interpretation of a particular passage may vary, the methods may sometimes fade one into the other. Yet it is tentatively justified to make these identifications between exegetical methods and sitz im leben. These identifications will be of significance in assessing the evidence concerning theological motifs which the citations and allusions present.

Sources of Isaianic Material

From what source or sources did the early Christian writers derive their material? In seeking to answer this question, not only the "testimony hypothesis," but the suggestions of Stendahl concerning the "school of St. Matthew" and of Dodd concerning "plot texts" will be discussed.

The problem of NT readings which agree neither with the MT nor the LXX, but with themselves, provides the starting point for discussion. In an effort to solve this problem, basing his work on the theories of Hatch and Vollmer,[108] J. Rendel Harris suggested the existence of a fixed "testimony book," from which the Biblical writers selected texts to suit their immediate purpose and aim;[109] his hypothesis was based on an analysis of the citations in the

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[108] For a brief discussion, see Ellis, op. cit., p. 98-99.

[109] J. Rendel Harris, Testimonies, Parts I & II, Cambridge: at the University Press, 1916, 1920.

early church fathers, some of the extra-Biblical documents, and the New Testament.[110]

Harris' hypothesis has received some support from two recently discovered MSS. at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium and 4QTestimonia. The former focuses on the Davidic Messiah, primarily citing II Sam. 7:11f.; the latter is concerned with "the prophet like unto Moses" (Deut. 5:28-29; 18:18f.), the royal and priestly Messiahs (Num. 24:15-17), probably the Righteous Teacher (Deut. 22:8-11), and the Wicked Priest (Josh. 6:26). 4QTestimonia is dated in the first quarter of the First Century B.C.; 4QFlorilegium in the late First Century B.C. or early First Century A.D. Both appear to be autographs.[111] Both deal with individual figures; neither provides a collection of texts to support the sequence of apocalyptic events. Were these the basis or the precipitate of interpretation? What function did they serve? The early Christians supported every aspect of the proclamation with texts; if Christian testimonia were used, they were far more extensive and intensive than those which have been discovered at Qumran. Moreover, the

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[110] B. P. W. Stather-Hunt, Primitive Gospel Sources, London: James Clarke & Co., Limited., 1951, is one of the most recent writers supporting the hypothesis. Robert A. Kraft, "Barnabas' Isaiah Text and The 'Testimony Book' Hypothesis" in Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. LXXIX (December, 1960), pp. 336-350, concludes that the early Christians may have used fragmentary notes of "testimonies."

[111] Frank M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1958, pp. 84, 112f., 164; J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," and "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrāšîm," Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Vol. LXXV (1956), pp. 176f., 182-187, and Vol. LXXVII (1958), pp. 350-4, respectively.

testimonia of necessity would have had to exist in multiple copies; remarkably none have been preserved, and the collection was not--as might be expected--included in the canon.[112] Yet the Qumran collections give partial support for Harris' hypothesis.

The most potent objections to Harris' theory have come from the study of extra-canonical writings, the implications of form criticism, the study of church liturgics, and the textual implications of the Qumran material. First, the testimony hypothesis assumed that the authors of the extant documents used written testimonia. Form criticism, on the other hand, has argued that the material for some time was transmitted orally, and that the writers of the extant documents had access to the material chiefly during this oral period. Secondly, Doeve suggests[113] that a collection of texts, separated from the sacred canon, would not retain the high authority of Scripture. The DSS, as we have seen, presents a counter-argument to this point, although Doeve's view may still have some validity. Thirdly, Harris' argument that the textual identity of New Testament citations and patristic writings indicated written testimonia needs to be re-examined; textual studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls suggest that identical texts may be derived not from written testimonia but from well established divergent Greek translations and even Hebrew archetypes. Fourthly, Harris' discussion underestimates the influence of the varying

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[112] So C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953, p. 26.

[113] J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, op. cit.

activities of the early church. Stendahl phrases this observation rightly when he says, "The methods of the synagogue in dealing with the texts of the OT, both in liturgical reading and in teaching, account for most of the features Harris wanted to explain by his Book of Testimonies."[114] Interpretation also took place in proclamation, exhortation, prophecy, and devotion.[115] The source of the New Testament citations is to be found most probably not in written testimonia but in the life of the early church, out of which Christian interpretative activity arose.

Krister Stendahl, in his book, The School of St. Matthew,[116] suggests that this interpretative activity--at least in the case of the gospel of Matthew--took place within formal schools for church leaders, and reflects scribal training and methods. Basing his examination of formulae citations in Matthew upon an analysis of both the method and content of Qumran exegesis--particularly in the Habbakkuk commentary--Stendahl concludes that the N. T. citations and their interpretation originated in a scribal school not unlike that at Qumran. Stendahl especially emphasizes double readings, eclectic selection of text-forms, and the community's general eschatological viewpoint. Bertil Gaertner, in his article "The Habbakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew," a review of Stendahl's work, has

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[114]Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, op. cit., p. 217.

[115]So T. W. Manson, "The Argument from Prophecy" in the Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. XLVI (1945), p. 132.

[116]Op. cit.

seriously questioned Stendahl's arguments.[117] Instead of double readings, Gaertner finds numerous word-plays; instead of eclectic selection, he cautiously suggests that the community had its own peculiar tradition, to which Aquila and Symmachus had access.[118] Likewise, Gaertner examines and rejects Stendahl's views concerning Qumran's eschatological viewpoint and focus for interpretation, in the process pointing to some important differences between Qumran and Matthew.[119] After an examination of Stendahl's N. T. "evidence," Gaertner rejects this as well,[120] including Stendahl's view concerning the Sitz im Leben.[121] In all of these points, Gaertner has the best of the argument. Certainly scribes who became Christians brought into the church the usage of scribal techniques in the study of the Scripture. Yet nothing in Matthew requires a formal school; all aspects at hand may be readily explained by general--even lay--interpretation in the early church. This is strongly supported by the statements tendered above concerning the Sitz im Leben of the citations and allusions and by the analysis of exegetical methods. This interpretative work seems to have taken place in various circles within the church--Jewish and Hellenistic, Pauline and Petrine, apocalyptic and non-apocalyptic. Some of the material is derived from the interpretative work of Jesus, some from the various functions

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[117] Studia Theologica, ed. by Ordinum Theologorus Scandinavicorum (Lund: Prostant Apud C. W. K. Gleerup, 1955), Vol. VIII, Fasc. 11, 1954, pp. 1-24.

[118] Ibid., pp. 2-6.

[119] Ibid., pp. 6-15.

[120] Ibid., pp. 16-22.

[121] Ibid., pp. 22-24.

of the early church, some from the authors of the various writings. All find their origin in the living tradition of the early church, based on the church's understanding of the mission and message of Jesus.

We may now pose the question: in what way did the early church select passages from the Old Testament to be studied? From what sources did the early church select scripture to be interpreted, and why?

C. H. Dodd, in his provocative and stimulating study <u>According to the Scriptures</u>,[122] examines the citations and certain allusions to the Old Testament in the New Testament in order to assess the validity of the "testimony hypothesis" and to determine the passages which formed the sub-structure of early Christian thought. As a result of this investigation, Dodd draws four principal conclusions:

> 1. The quotation of passages from the Old Testament (whether or not under a formula of quotation) is not to be accounted for by the postulate of a primitive anthology of isolated proof-texts. The composition of "testimony-books" was the result, not the presupposition, of the work of early Christian biblical scholars. The evidence suggests that at a very early date a certain <u>method</u> of biblical study was established and became part of the equipment of Christian evangelists and teachers. . . .
>
> 2. The method included, first, the <u>selection</u> of certain large sections of the Old Testament scriptures, especially from Isaiah, Jeremiah and certain minor prophets, and from the Psalms. These sections were understood as wholes, and particular verses or sentences were quoted from them rather

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[122] C. H. Dodd, <u>According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology</u>, London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1952.

> as pointers to the whole context than as constitution testimonies in and for themselves. At the same time, detached sentences from other parts of the Old Testament could be adduced to illustrate or elucidate the meaning of the main section under consideration. But in the fundamental passages it is the <u>total context</u> that is in view, and is the basis of the argument.
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> 3. The relevant scriptures were understood and interpreted upon intelligible and consistent principles, as setting forth "the determinate counsel of God" which was fulfilled in the gospel facts, and consequently as fixing the meaning of those facts.
>
> 4. This whole body of material--the passages of Old Testament scripture with their application to the gospel facts--is common to all the main portions of the New Testament, and in particular it provided the starting point for the theological constructions of Paul, the author to the Hebrews, and the Fourth Evangelist. It is the substructure of all Christian theology and contains already its chief regulative ideas.[123]

Of these conclusions, the third and fourth seem to be completely justified in the light of the analysis conducted in this paper. Most certainly the Old Testament material was used to interpret the facts of the gospel, a practice founded on the certainty of the presence of God's will and action in the life and ministry of Jesus; likewise accurate is the conclusion that this primitive interpretative work lies at the base of the formulations of the three persons cited by Dodd. However, the third and fourth conclusions do not issue from the first and second. Dodd is also correct when he suggests that the interpretative work of the early church was not piecemeal but was based on some overarching convictions. Dodd is incorrect, however, in finding these convictions in particular, clearly defined contexts. These convictions and

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[123] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 126-127.

views were accepted a prior; in the light of these convictions the early Christian approached the Scriptures. The question was: how may one account for the distinctiveness of Jesus, and for the overwhelming event of the Resurrection? What is the calling of his disciples? The Scriptures were searched for answers to these questions. In other words, the interpretation of scripture was not unitary in terms of the particular context or portion interpreted--as Dodd suggests--but unitary in terms of the various convictions and concepts already accepted.

This fallacy in Dodd's formulation may be illustrated. Dodd maintains that Isaiah 52:13-53:12 formed a "plot-text" for the motif of "the Servant of the Lord and the Righteous Sufferer."[124] We may wholeheartedly agree with Dodd's words,

> Here then we have a long, self-contained passage, practically every verse of which is represented in one way or another in the New Testament, and in almost every part of it--Synoptic Gospels, John, Acts, Paul, Hebrew and I Peter. Its importance as a source of testimonia is manifest, and there is a high probability, in view of its ubiquity, that its use as such goes back to the earliest period to which we have access.[125]

We may agree in spite of the fact that some of Dodd's suggested allusions are rejected by this paper. On the other hand, we may vigorously deny that this usage provides support for the motif of the "servant of the Lord" in the New Testament. Instead of a unitary implementation of these verses based on this single motif, the New Testament displays a variety of applications. In Paul's

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[124] Ibid., pp. 94, 108.

[125] Ibid., p. 94.

mind Isaiah 52:15 (/// Romans 15:20,21) is the scriptural basis for his missionary method and work; Isaiah 53:1 for Paul (/// Romans 10:15,16) gives credence to the lack of response to the proclamation, whereas for John (/// John 12:37,38) it explains the people's lack of response to the signs and wonders performed by Jesus. Both of these latter interpretations are founded on the interpretative work of the early church. Isaiah 53:4 must realistically be regarded according to Matthew (/// 8:17) as an explanation for Jesus' healing ministry; Isaiah 53:12 in Luke (/// 22:37) is applied in a strange and ambiguous way, but not in connection with the "servant" motif. Even Isaiah 53:7,8, as we see its application in Acts 8:32,33, has reference not to vicarious suffering but to the motif of the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus as Lord. It will be suggested below that this motif was determinative in most cases in the application of passages from Second Isaiah. Dodd's failure to take into account the particular and specific application of these various verses lies at the base of his fallacy concerning unitary contextual interpretation of this material.

However, Dodd's hypothesis of unitary contextual interpretation finds partial support in the practice of rabbinic interpretation. The rabbis, with their comprehensive and intensive knowledge of Scripture, did use the technique of citing the initial words of a particular passage which they wished to evoke; most certainly those who heard these "pointer" phrases were equally well versed in the Scripture, and for them the whole passage would come to mind. Yet little evidence is present that this technique was used in the synagogue; even less

data is present to demonstrate that the prophetic lections were read or cited in this way. Jacob Mann, in his masterly analysis of the reading and usage of Scripture in the Old Synagogue, notes that, theoretically, the reading from the prophets should consist of the same number of verses as the reading from the Law, i.e., from eighteen to twenty-one verses.[126] Practically the reading was shortened to eight or even three,[127] by the technique of "skipping"; never less than three, however, were read.[128] In the prophetic reading, therefore, "pointer" phrases could not have been used.

"Pointer" phrases, evoking the context, would be meaningful only if the hearers knew the Scriptures as well as the rabbis; on this general ground Dodd's theory may be questioned. Specifically in the NT usage of Isaiah Chapters 40-66 little evidence is present to support it. Rather, in the early church application of Scripture took place on the whole not by logical or rational scholarly research, but by the associative process of the reflective, meditative mind. The development and fusion of various motifs can be accounted for only by such a process. Such activity provided the matrix for the early and cumulative interpretative tradition of the church.

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[126] Mann, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, op. cit., p. 8.

[127] Ibid., p. 9

[128] Ibid., p. 10

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF ISAIAH 40-66 UPON EARLY CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND THE THOUGHT OF JESUS

Whereas in the last chapter we were concerned with both the hermeneutical principles and the methodology of the New Testament writers, in this chapter we will be concerned primarily with the way in which the material appropriated from Second and Third Isaiah influenced the interpretative process which produced the New Testament literature. What motifs or concepts provided the basis for this interpretation? How was the material under discussion utilized to instigate or develop these motifs? What sections were of special value for this purpose?

Obviously the discussion now before us is the most difficult of any that we have undertaken, for in this discussion we must deal with far-ranging motifs and conceptions, motifs and conceptions which are difficult to restrict without doing injury to their validity or usefulness. If the New Testament documents were the product of a process which was logical and rational, it would not be too difficult to discuss systematically these beliefs. However, as we have seen, the process which lies behind the interpretation of the early Christians is less prosaic and more poetic, less rational and more associative, less logical and more intuitive. Much of the interpretative insights arose not out of intentional analysis but out of less intentional reflection and meditation. That is to say, the life of the church--not the logical reflection of individuals--underlies this interpretative

process; therefore, the interpretative work must be approached on this basis and with this assumption.

The earliest Christians did not approach the Old Testament with the outlook of modern biblical criticism. For them the Old Testament was God's Word to His people, both oral and written, in spoken words and in historical events. The material in Chapters 40-66 was attributed traditionally to the prophet Isaiah, and it never occurred to them to question this authorship. More specifically, although they were not impervious to historical context, they did not interpret the material historically; God's Word to those of old was God's Word to them in their day, and its relevance to past historical events in no way impaired its relevance to contemporary situations and circumstances. A prime example of Jewish interpretation of this type is to be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[1] The same general attitude toward Old Testament scriptures, especially prophecy, is clearly visible in Christian interpretation.

Yet it is important briefly to survey from a critical standpoint the position of Isaiah Chapter 40-66 in the Old Testament. Patently no effort will be made to make original contributions to this field, since such an endeavor is outside the scope of this paper. Rather, the opinions will be summarily presented as background for the assessment of the influence of this material on the interpretation of the early Christians and

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[1]Bertil Gaertner, op. cit., pp. 6-12.

on the thought of Jesus.

I. SECOND AND 'THIRD' ISAIAH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

James Muilenburg, in his "Introduction" to Isaiah Chapters 40-66 gives a concise and useful summary of scholarly viewpoints concerning the integrity of Chapters 40-66.[2] The hypothesis that chapters 56-66 are from the hands of persons or a person later than Second Isaiah was first proposed by Bernhard Duhm in 1875. Since Duhm's time, his view has been accepted by the large majority of scholars, although such outstanding scholars as C. C. Torrey and Eduard Koenig have refused to accept this position. Against this hypothesis proponents cite the frequent similarity in language and style, as well as thought, between Chapters 40-55 and 56-66. It must be admitted that the degree of relationship is closer than to anything found in the genuine oracles of Isaiah, and that some sections of 56-66 are much closer to 40-55 than others. However, "the weightiest argument against the literary integrity of chapters 40-66 is the difference in historical situation which they appear to presuppose."[3]

For one who rejects the integrity of Chapters 40-66, the immediate post-Exilic period provides the historical Sitz im Leben for Chapters 56-66. The material is concerned not with the problems

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[2] James Muilenburg, "Introduction to Isaiah, Chapters 40-66," op. cit., pp. 383-4, 414. Much of the material in this section is taken from this portion of Muilenburg's excellent "Introduction."

[3] Idem., p. 383.

of the Exile, but with the problems of the post-Exilic Palestinian community. The material focuses repeatedly upon the practices and observances of the cult, and conversely upon the syncretistic tendencies of the apostates. Fasting and the Sabbath receive strong support. Once more the Temple is in existence, although its claim as the sole place of worship and the sole locus of sacrifice is rejected. God does not dwell in temples made with hands, rather the true tabernacle of his dwelling is with the humble and contrite in spirit (66:1-2). Prayer and its efficacy becomes one of the principal motifs of this section. Especially significant is the shift in view concerning the eschaton. The intense "historical eschatology" of Chapters 40-55, of which we shall speak shortly, is gone; in its place stands a view of the end which is quite apocalyptic. Absent is the overwhelming confidence of the earlier portion that God's will and reign will be actualized in the present age; in the latter portion the end will come with judgment and destruction, and His reign will be established in a new heaven and a new earth (66:22). More than any other motif, the apocalyptic interest in the latter section seems to have been extremely meaningful to certain circles within the early Christian church.

The thought of Isaiah 56-66 is concerned with the encouragement and regulation of the post-Exilic Jewish community. The returnees from Exile, truly Jewish, are wrestling with the problems of a re-established theocratic community; the material in this last portion of the book of Isaiah consists of

prophetic oracles uttered for its guidance. It is not possible to say whether the material is the work of one prophet or of many; Karl Elliger has argued for the unity of these chapters, which he calls "Third" Isaiah. However, his stylistic analysis points to such a degree of diversity that unity of authorship cannot be proved.[4] It seems more likely that the material is the product of a group of prophets, perhaps disciples of Second Isaiah, who "seek to perpetuate the prophetic message of their master," but under different conditions.[5] Considered as a whole, Chapters 56-66 do not have the dominating coherence of Second Isaiah's eschatological poems.[6]

> The writers are familiar with the work of their great leader, but the practical problems of restoration and reconstruction, the disappointment and discouragement of the people, the presence of alien influences corrupting the common life, all press for immediate answer. . . . .The prophecy as a whole gives us valuable insight into the conditions and religious life of Israel in the decades following 538 B. C.[7]

On the other hand, the prophet who stands behind Chapters

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[4]Cited by Muilenburg, idem., p. 384.

[5]Idem., p. 414. The suggestion that Isaiah of Jerusalem founded a "school" of prophets, members of which produced the latter portions of the book of Isaiah, was first proposed by Sigmund Mowinckel (Jesaja-diseplene, Oslo: H. Aschenong, 1926), and has been accepted by many contemporary scholars. Among them the view appears in Martin Buber's The Prophetic Faith (Macmillan, 1949), as cited by Bernhard Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 403.

[6]Muilenburg, ibid., p. 414.

[7]Loc. cit.

40-55 not only is more coherent and more perceptive than the authors who stand behind the latter portion, but he was faced with a far more tumultous period in world history. Indeed, this period of disturbance was the necessary catalyst which brought about the oracles of Second Isaiah as the precipitate of Hebrew history. The prophet of Chapters 40-55 is clearly the heir to despair, as far as the large portion of the Hebrews were concerned. The Hebrews found their communal purpose in God's election and deliverance; they found their communal life within the covenant of Yahweh. During the period of the Settlement the tribes were ordered, in a loose fashion, by an amphictyony, with the Mosaic covenant as its foundation. With the emergence of the monarchy under Saul and especially David, the religious foundation shifted from the tribal covenant with Yahweh to Yahweh's covenant with David and his house. From the time of David on, it would seem that a constant polarity existed between these two covenant relationships; the words of many of the classical prophets, such as Amos, Hosea, and Jeremiah, are uttered on the basis of the earlier covenant between Yahweh and the people, while the monarchy--particularly in the southern kingdom--stressed Yahweh's covenant with David and his house. Yet even the covenant concept tended to be perverted, to be viewed by the people not as responsibility but irrevocable privilege. The devastation of Samaria in 721 B. C. failed to shake the southerners out of their delusions; for many people it only confirmed God's special concern with Judah and the house of David. The Temple in Jerusalem, built by Solomon, raised to the position

of being the only place of sacrifice by the Deuteronomic reforms, and long associated with the Davidic house and its ideology, was by Jeremiah's time regarded as sacrosanct in itself; its existence was guaranteed completely by the faithfulness and power of Yahweh. However, it was not enough to enter the Temple and say, "This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord" (Jeremiah 7:4); Yahweh also requires covenant-faithfulness from His people. Since obedience was not forthcoming, punishment from Yahweh would come in its place. Partially in 598 B. C., then fully in 587 B. C., destruction--physical, intellectual, and spiritual--came; the Judeans, like the Israelites of the northern kingdom, had sown the wind, and had reaped the whirlwind (Hosea 8:7).

It is difficult for us to imagine the magnitude of this disaster. It was not just another military or political defeat. The event marked the end of a nation, of a people, and of a faith. Great changes occurred during the Babylonian Exile; the post-Exilic community, though it had some continuity with the earlier pre-Exilic community, was not a reconstitution of it. For those who went into Exile, the disaster meant no less than the temporary--and for many the permanent--severance of the people from Yahweh; the covenant with Yahweh had been disrupted, perhaps abolished, by Yahweh, not because of His unfaithfulness but because of His people's sins. The house of David was vanquished; the Temple, God's House, was destroyed; the City conquered; the people scattered. The event, therefore, destroyed all sense of national purpose and significance; called to be the people of God and formed

for this purpose, they had no meaning--collectively or individually--when this purpose was withdrawn.

The exiles were consequently in the deepest despair, with all communal and religious roots shaken and uprooted. Their sin, and the sin of their fellows, had made inevitable this disaster, even as the prophets had proclaimed. Guilt was a heavy burden for the Hebrews in Babylon. In this strange land, other thoughts came to their minds: had Yahweh permitted the gods of the Babylonians to do this, or had they done this because He was actually powerless before them? On every hand there was ample evidence of the power of the Babylonian deities: splendid cities secure in power, mighty armies sponsored by the gods, the New Year's festival, in which their power was asserted and reestablished, and in which their glory was displayed with splendor. Is it possible that these are the true gods, demanding worship? After all, the facts of history--so long the basis of the prophets' proclamation--seemed clearly to demonstrate this inference. So many not only were in the deepest despair and guilt; many also were quickly attracted into apostasy.

The Exile for many marked the end of the Hebrew faith and the covenant with Yahweh. Likewise, to one not conversant with Hebrew history, such a time would scarcely seem the time for a great prophet to arise. Yet in their history, God seems to have always chosen to use great critical events for His revealing. In this time, Second Isaiah arose. His words were not of punishment, guilt, and the reason for destruction, as were those of his prophetic predecessors; they were the opposite: comfort,

deliverance, mission, and restoration. The first two verses set the tone of the whole series of oracles:

> Comfort, comfort my people,
> says your God.
> Speak tenderly to Jerusalem,
> and cry to her
> that her warfare is ended,
> that her iniquity is pardoned,
> that she has received from the Lord's hand
> double for all her sins. (40:1,2)

It may be well, for conciseness sake, to base our considerations of Second Isaiah's thought around these phrases. To be sure, Second Isaiah's oracles are neither logical nor systematic; they are poetic, intuitive, and allusive.[8] Yet this paper requires at least a semi-systematic treatment. The attempt will be made in this way to avoid as much injury as possible to the oracles of the prophet.

"Comfort, comfort my people, . . ."

Second Isaiah's point of departure was the covenant between Yahweh and Israel; this is the significance of the covenant-words "my people . ." completed by the phrase "your God" in the following line. Far from cutting Himself off from His people, Yahweh asserts that He is present with His people in captivity and will in the imminent future bring about their redemption or release. The covenant between Yahweh and Israel still exists; it is Second Isaiah who sees in this relationship far greater meaning than any

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[8] See Muilenburg's, op. cit., 386-393, excellent discussion.

of his predecessors. Yahweh soon will appear in glory and power to establish his sovereignty.[9] This is the word of comfort, of consolation and strength, which is revealed to the prophet to be proclaimed to the captives. Yahweh is revealed as the Lord of Creation[10] and the Lord of History.[11] Before Him the nations are nothing,[12] especially Babylon;[13] before Him their gods are nothing but objects for ridicule and scorn.[14] He it is who is God alone, "for I am God, and there is no other."[15] With this affirmation, for the first time we are presented with monotheism. Intimations, perhaps authentic, are present in the oracles of Amos;[16] yet only Second Isaiah grasps the concept and implications of historical monotheism in all of its profundity. The God of the Hebrews is not the God only of the Hebrews, but of all nations and all peoples. He is not restricted to the land of Palestine, but is Sovereign and Ruler over all lands and all rulers. His judgment falls on Babylon;[17] He is able to give the wealth of Egypt, the

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[9] 40:3-5, 9-11

[10] 40:12-31; 45:9-13; 51:16-17

[11] 40:21-24; 41:2-4; 41:21-24; 43:14-17; 44:7-8; 46:8-11

[12] 40:15-17; 41:11-13; 41:25-29 [13] 47:1-15

[14] 40:18-20; 44:9-20; 45:20-21; 46:1-2

[15] 45:22 [16] 1:3-2:3

[17] 47:1-15

merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans as ransom for His people;[18] He can summon the coastlands;[19] He can raise up Cyrus as His instrument of release, though Cyrus may know it not.[20]

This Lord of Creation, of History, and of Time[21] is about to do a new thing: to intervene directly in history and to bring to close by His appearing the history of His creation. Second Isaiah reminds his hearers of the "former things,"[22] the mighty acts of God in history, especially in the deliverance from Egypt, the crossing of the Sea, and the guidance through the wilderness. In these terms Second Isaiah pictures the "new thing"[23] which Yahweh is doing: it is referred to as a "new Exodus,"[24] blessings in the wilderness,[25] the renewed gift of the promised land,[26] all ways in which Yahweh reaffirms His election of Israel[27] and His protecting presence with them.[28] To expedite this intervention

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[18] 45:14

[19] 41:1

[20] 44:24-45:4

[21] 44:6

[22] 48:3-5

[23] 43:18-19: 48:6-8

[24] 49:9c-11; 52:11-12

[25] 43:20-21

[26] 49:12,17-19; 54:1-3, 11-15

[27] E.g., 44:21

[28] 40:27-31; 44:21-22; 49:13-16, 24-26; 50:1-3; 51:1-8, 12-16; 52:7-10; 54:4-10; 55:1-5

Yahweh has raised up Cyrus, His historical, military instrument,[29] yet Cyrus is significant not because of his personal abilities or conquests, but because God's power and glory will be known through him. In Chapter 45:1-7, this is abundantly clear, for Yahweh indicates His actions repetitiously with the powerful affirmation,

> I will go before you
> and level the mountains,
> I will break in pieces the doors of bronze
> and cut asunder the bars of iron,
> I will give you the treasures of darkness
> and the hoards in secret places, . . .[30]

which is followed by the expression of purpose, a purpose which dominates the oracles of deliverance,

> that you may know that it is I, the Lord,
> the God of Israel, who call you by your name.
> For the sake of my servant Jacob,
> and Israel my chosen,
> I call you by your name,
> I surname you, though you do not know me.
> I am the Lord, and there is no other,
> besides me there is no God;
> I gird you, though you do not know me,
> that men may know, from the rising of the sun
> and from the west, that there is none besides me;
> I am the Lord, and there is no other.
> I form light and create darkness,
> I make weal and create woe,
> I am the Lord, who do all these things.[31]

Thus Yahweh expresses the purpose of His intervention.

The point of time of this intervention is quite different from the view expressed in Chapters 56-66. In those chapters, the view

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[29] 44:24-45:13

[30] 45:2-3b

[31] 45:3c-7

is semi-apocalyptic in tone,[32] since the present creation is to be destroyed and a new heaven and a new earth created.[33] Admittedly, the dominant note is the comforting and restoration of God's people, but this seems to be a consummation beyond the eschaton. In Second Isaiah, however, the eschatology seems clearly to be an historical eschatology; God will act in, not beyond, history to fulfill it. God is acting in Cyrus; God is acting through His people; God will act in the imminent future to fulfill within history His covenant with His people.

The manner in which Yahweh is coming is not clear. It is reiterated repeatedly[34] but never described. It is improbable that Second Isaiah conceived of any sensual manifestation of Yahweh; rather, he would use the imagery of the Hebraic tradition. This contention is strongly supported by the image of Yahweh as Shepherd to indicate His compassionate concern,[35] the image of the "arm of the Lord" to indicate God's absolute power,[36] and His "glory" to indicate the manifestation of God's power in Creation and History.[37] His appearing will initiate His continual and everlasting presence with His people.[38]

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[32] 63:1-6; 66:15-16

[33] 65:17; 66:22

[34] 40:3-5, 9-11; 52:7-12

[35] 40:11

[36] 40:10,11; 48:12-13; 51:5; 9ff.; 52:10

[37] 40:5

[38] 54:6-8

Speak tenderly to Jerusalem
and cry to her
that her warfare is ended,
that her iniquity is pardoned,
that she has received from the Lord's hand
double for all her sins.

In the last section, we have been primarily concerned with the "comfort of Yahweh," its content and significance. In this section, let us focus our attention upon Israel, His people, for whom He intervenes: "Jerusalem" stands for this community. Our attention will be focused upon three momentous disclosures.

The second of the phrases, ". . .that her iniquity is pardoned, . . ." is a clear pronouncement of forgiveness. Significantly, the burden of the message of previous prophets was that God would punish His people for their iniquity. Among others, Amos emphasized the rejection of covenant-loyalty as reflected in social actions; Hosea emphasized the rejection of covenant-loyalty as reflected in religious faithlessness Isaiah of Jerusalem emphasized the rejection of covenant-loyalty as reflected in personal and national independence of God's will; Jeremiah gathered up many of the motifs of the former prophets and added the judgment on Temple-worship. As indicated above, the Exiles were burdened not only with despair but with guilt. They and their fathers have brought on this disaster by their own sin and rebellion. This guilt and sin Yahweh has now wiped out by Yahweh's grace.[39] Israel has suffered sufficiently for her sins.

[39] 43:25; 44:22; 48:9

However, the third phrase indicates that Israel has suffered more than enough for her own sins, in fact "double": "that she has received from the Lord's hand double for all her sins." What is the significance of this "double payment"? Second Isaiah sees in this "double payment" a redemptive purpose. This redemptive purpose is to be found in Israel's relationship to the "nations" or "Gentiles." Once Second Isaiah refers to Israel as the "threshing sledge" of Yahweh, who will crush the "mountains" and "hills," then winnowing them in the wind;[40] perhaps the nations are symbolized by the eschatological term "mountains." Strangely, only here does Yahweh speak of Israel as His instrument of judgment; elsewhere, as we have seen, His instrument is Cyrus. Normally Yahweh refers to the mission of Israel as one having redemptive significance. In one significant passage Yahweh addresses the people and speaks to them these words,

> I am the Lord, I have called you in righteousness,
> I have taken you by the hand and kept you;
> I have given you as a covenant to the people,
> a light to the nations,
> to open the eyes that are blind,
> to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon,
> from the prison those who sit in darkness."[41]

Elsewhere the mission of Israel is presented in juridical terms. God has acted in the past and is acting in the present; Israel is to bear witness to His actions and His purpose[42]

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[40] 41:15,16

[41] 42:6-7c

[42] 43:10,12

> Israel does not exist for herself. She is not first of all a great nation, a great military power, an economic force, a cultural center, or any other secular order. Her mission is to be God's witness . . ."[43]

The greatest role assigned to Israel by Yahweh is neither a "light to the Gentiles" nor that of His "witnesses," although both of these are closely identified with the third title.[44] By far the greatest conception found in the oracles of Second Isaiah is the conception of Israel as the "Servant of Yahweh." It should be noted that many scholars refuse to accept the "Servant of Yahweh" in Second Isaiah as Israel. However, in the opinion of the writer, an exceedingly strong case can be made for this identification.[45] The Servant Israel is quite clearly "chosen by Yahweh"[46] and "upheld and comforted by Yahweh."[47] "Formed by Yahweh in the womb,"[48] Israel has been

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[43] Ibid., p. 488.

[44] 49:1-6; 43:10

[45] It is impossible in the space available and irrelevant to the topic before us to seek to work through the myriad proposals submitted concerning the identity of the Servant of Yahweh. For an extensive critical review, the reader is referred to C. R. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah (London: Oxford University Press, 1948); for an excellent discussion of the problem and a strong argument for the identification of the Servant with Israel, see Müilenburg, op. cit., pp. 406-413. See also W. Zimmerli, "The Servant of God in the Old Testament," The Servant of God, from Studies in Biblical Theology, translated by Harold Knight, et. al., from Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. G. Kittel (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 13-34.

[46] 41:8-9; 42:1; 43:10; 44:1; 45:4; 49:7

[47] 41:10; 42:1,6

[48] 44:2,21,24; 49:1,5

"hid in the shadow of Yahweh's hand."[49] "Honored by Yahweh"[50] and "endowed with Yahweh's spirit",[51] Israel as Yahweh's Servant will "give Torah" and "established justice" among the "nations."[52] Yahweh will be glorified in Israel.[53] In these phrases, Second Isaiah reiterates the deepest convictions of his religious tradition, among which was the belief that Israel was formed for the purpose and glory of God and was His chosen instrument. In the context of the Exile, this conviction acquired deeper significance for Second Isaiah. Instead of believing, with many of his countrymen, that the covenant relationship was broken, and that God had forsaken His people, Second Isaiah saw the Exile not only as punishment for Israel's sins--a concept discussed above--but also as a redemptive situation intended by Yahweh as a means of self-revelation to the Gentiles through Israel. Not only was Israel suffering for her own sins; the excess of her suffering was for the sake of the Gentiles, who through her would come to know Yahweh. The enlargement of the concept of Yahweh to the point of historical monotheism was matched by the enlargement of the role of Israel to the position

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[49] 51:16

[50] 43:4; 49:5

[51] 42:1, 44:3

[52] 42:4; 51:4-8. This summary is based on the material presented by Bernhard Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, op. cit., p. 419; for a different analysis and comparison, see Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 406-408.

[53] 44:23; 49:3

of being the instrument of universal redemption.

It is precisely at this point that scholars encounter difficulty in understanding the identity and mission of the Servant of Yahweh, for on several points the Servant Israel differs from the Servant of Isaiah 53. The Servant Israel despairs,[54] but the Servant in 42:4 and 50:7-9 is undiscouraged. The Servant Israel is rebellious and sinful, but the Servant elsewhere is not rebellious but faithful.[55] The Servant Israel is blind and deaf,[56] but the Servant in 50:4-5 is attentive and responsive. The Servant Israel suffers in despair and seeks vindication,[57] but the Servant elsewhere suffers patiently and willingly.[58] Israel suffers for her own sins[59] but the Servant elsewhere is portrayed as suffering for the sins of others.[60] Israel is to be redeemed, but the Servant's mission is to redeem Israel.

The last of these contrasts is the most difficult. The others can become understandable as we look closely at Second Isaiah's view of Israel. As we shall see below, Second Isaiah thinks of Israel not just as the group in Exile, not as the Jewish people--

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[54] 40:27; 42:8-10

[55] 50:5; 53:4-6, 12

[56] 42:18-25

[57] 42:11-13

[58] 50:6; 53:4-9

[59] 50:1; 42:24-25; 43:22-28; 47:6

[60] Chapter 53

in Babylonia, Palestine, and elsewhere--contemporary with him, but as the people of God collectively, including the Jews in Babylonia, in Palestine, and elsewhere, as well as their fathers before them, from God's initiative at the Exodus on to his day. Possibly also should be included the Hebrews who would live after his own day. Second Isaiah is using the term "Israel" in the broadest corporate sense. "Israel" therefore can be spoken of in contradictory terms, for contradictory elements had gone into her makeup. Many in Israel were in despair, but some were undiscouraged. Surely in the past and even in Isaiah's time many were rebellious and sinful; yet there was always the "remnant" that held fast to the covenant with Yahweh. The history of Israel is filled with events which picture her as blind and deaf, as suffering in despair and seeking vindication; yet there was the group within Israel which was attentive and responsive, which accepted corporate and individual pain and suffering willingly and with patience. In the last two points especially the newness of Second Isaiah's work is clear: Israel is to be redeemed, but the means of redemption is God's grace, acting not only through the pagan conqueror Cyrus, but through the faithful within the community. Israel was suffering rightly for her sins; yet the punishment was far greater than the sin, and this excess was redemptive in that it was born willingly by the faithful, with confidence that Yahweh was working out His will. Israel's task as the Servant of Yahweh was to willingly accept excessive punishment and despair, that Yahweh might display His power and concern through her. From the standpoint of the nations,

Israel, as represented by the faithful ones, was poorly equipped for such an exalted task.[61] but by the power of Yahweh the nations would see and be astonished,[62] that by means of one so contemptable Yahweh was expediting His will.

It may be objected that we have no evidence of such a faithful community among the Exilic Jews. Actually, this argument from silence is reversible: we have no evidence that such a group did not exist, that all Israelites were as blind, as faithless, and as rebellious as some passages indicate. Positively, we can point to one such faithful person: the prophet of the oracles himself. It seems improbable that he stood alone, though perhaps he saw deeper and wider than the others. From a socio-religious standpoint, the emergence of different religious practices, clearly indicated in "Third Isaiah," are evidence for a great deal of religious faithfulness and re-formulation among the Jews during the Exile. The "School of Isaiah," suggested above, would also imply that Second Isaiah did not stand alone. Such a faithful community did exist among the Israelites, and Second Isaiah was the first and only prophet to see the significance of that community's role in the redemptive purposes of Yahweh: the suffering Servant of Yahweh.

It should also be added that it is not reasonable to expect the existence of this community of faith in the way that Second Isaiah described it; the uniqueness of this conception in the

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[61] See especially 53:1-3

[62] 52:13-15

history of Israel's faith, before and after Second Isaiah, would indicate that this was a part of the "new things" which Yahweh was doing. Second Isaiah saw the mission of Israel--the faithful Israel--in the light of an intense eschatological vision; at the end of time--now near at hand--God's Servant Israel was to fulfill her historical destiny. At the end, the faithful within Israel would serve as the instrument of Yahweh's salvation, both for the unfaithful within Israel and for the "nations."

The first of the three declarations, ". . .that her warfare is ended, . . ." is an intense "pointer" to this broad historical view proclaimed by Second Isaiah; it includes--in a sense--the second and third phrases: the iniquity of Israel and Yahweh's forgiveness, and the role of Israel--the faithful community--within Yahweh's redemptive purpose. James Muilenburg, and also the Jewish translation of the Old Testament, would translate the Hebrew noun in this phrase not with "warfare" but with "time of service."[63] This noun is then interpreted to mean that the Exile in Babylonia is ended. In support of this interpretation, the common usage of the word, the literary structure of the oracle, and the interpretation of the LXX ("humiliation") may be cited. The literary structure of the oracle, however, does not necessitate a specific interpretation; Muilenburg seems to regard the three disclosures as a triad, although the RSV seems to regard the second--concerning forgiveness of sins--as a parallel to the first.

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[63]Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 425.

It may well be that the first two are not in parallel, but distinct formulations concerning God's actions and Israel's comforting. The LXX may have this translation because "humiliation" was the common connotation of the word when it signified "warfare." In this instance, this may not be the signification. The word can also be used to indicate the service of the priests in the tent of meeting.[64] Therefore, the meaning may be "sacred service" instead of "warfare." If this is the case, then the reference is not to the sufferings during the Exile, but to the servant-relationship in which Israel stands to Yahweh. The phrase "time of service" signifies the Servant Israel's existence in history, an existence which derived its origin and its meaning from the purposes and power of God. When Second Isaiah says, "her time of service is ended, . . ." the meaning would be that Israel's long history has reached its historical consummation, not that release from captivity was imminent.

That this is the meaning of the phrase is supported by the content of some of the oracles of Second Isaiah. In two oracles the recent past history and the immediate future of Israel is portrayed. In 42:18-43:7 the most recent history of the people is summarized: Israel is a blind and deaf servant;[65] because they rejected the "ways" and the "law" of their covenant with Yahweh,

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[64] Numbers 4:23; 8:24; I Samuel 2:22

[65] 42:19-21; cf. Jeremiah 5:21; Isaiah 6:9-10

he has sent them into Exile.[66] In Exile they have experienced the fire of judgment,[67] and they have been plundered and preyed upon.[68] However, beyond judgment there is Yahweh's grace,[69] a grace which issues in an imminent deliverance.[70] The Servant Israel, her "time of service" completed, will be honored and recompensed,[71] will return from the Diaspora in a "new exodus,"[72] in a glorious homecoming.[73] The land will be restored to her,[74] her number increased,[75] Zion rebuilt and repopulated,[76] and Israel will be pre-eminent among the nations.[77]

This historical summary is firmly anchored in a sweeping comprehension of Hebrew origins; Second Isaiah gathers together and fuses all of the sacred traditions of his people.

> Isaiah 40-55 is a profoundly authentic product of the Hebraic mind and spirit. Its roots lie deep within the great tradition. The thought and theological perspective of the Yahwist is grasped and interpreted in a fashion

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[66] 42:24

[67] 42:25

[68] 42:22; 53:1ff.

[69] 43:1-3b; 43:25-28

[70] 42:10-17; 44:6, 22; 45:22-25; 46:3-4, 12-13; 49:13-16; 51:1-16; 52:9-10

[71] 49:4,5cf; 52:13-15

[72] 49:9c-11

[73] 49:18, 12

[74] 49:8

[75] 54:1-3

[76] 49:17, 19; 54:11-15

[77] 49:22-23

> unmatched by any other biblical book. Its prophetic thought and form move naturally from the great pre-exilic prophets, more especially Isaiah of Jerusalem, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. The elevation of thought is matched by an intense lyricism. Moreover, in mood, style, and thought it is a superb reflection of its social environment. The Hebraic sense of time here achieves an amplitude and depth that does justice, not only to the classical tradition of Israel as it was enshrined in the literature of the past, but also to its later appropriation by the writers of the N. T. . . . . [78]

> In his use of Israel's traditions Second Isaiah turns to the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob, the two ancestors whose stories have been coalesced into a continuous narrative by the Yahwist; to Moses, the leader of the Exodus and the desert sojourn; to David, the king to whom Yahweh granted his election and covenant promises; and to the prophets, above all to Jeremiah, whose life story weaves itself into the fabric of the prophet's writing. The Exodus, the wandering, the conquest, the long periods of Egyptian and Assyrian oppressions, the history of Babylonian rule, and the destruction of the Holy City constitute the background against which he composes his poems. All the sacred past converges upon the present decisive moment in which the campaigns of Cyrus open a new era and prepare for the coming of the Lord. All the persons and events to which we have referred are present, and present in a unique degree. The prophet interprets their significance in an eschatological context; they all have a maximum meaning in the life history of the true Israel.[79]

Yahweh announces the end of Israel's instrumental role in history, from her beginning to the eschaton, with the phrase ". . .her time of service is ended . . ."

"says your God . . .speak tenderly . . .cry . . ."

What caused Second Isaiah to be so certain that the fulfillment of his oracles was imminent? The basis was his prophetic understanding of the power of the Word of Yahweh embodied in the word

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[78] Muilenburg, ibid., p. 382. [79] Ibid., p. 412.

of the prophet. As B. Davie Napier has said, ". . .the Word was regarded as an entity containing and releasing divine power to accomplish itself, that is, to perform or bring to pass its content."[80] Second Isaiah had been ushered into the heavenly council of Yahweh.[81] There he had heard the Word of Yahweh, which he was to proclaim. As the vehicle of Yahweh's power and might, His Word is irresistible, and to all effects and purposes, accomplished. He has but to proclaim it, and set loose its power in the world.

This certainty rings throughout Second Isaiah's oracles at the beginning and the end of his work. The passage 40:6-8 is devoted to a statement of the transience of all creation and the permanence of the word of Yahweh: ". . .the word of our God will stand forever.[82] An even more forceful statement of this conviction is found in 55:10-11,

> For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven,
> and return not thither but water the earth,
> making it bring forth and sprout,
> giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater,
> so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth;
> it shall not return to me empty,
> but it shall accomplish that which I purpose,
> and prosper in the thing for which I sent it.

In a more general sense, all of the oracles of Second Isaiah

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[80] B. Davie Napier, Song of the Vineyard (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), p. 297.

[81] Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 422ff.; Anderson, op. cit., p. 404. For a discussion of the Heavenly Council, see G. Ernest Wright, The Old Testament Against Its Environment, in the series Studies In Biblical Theology (Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 30-40.

[82] 40:8b.

are the expression of the Word of Yahweh. Especially may be noted the large number of speaking-hearing contexts, the transformation of the oracular formula, covenant words such as "I am Yahweh," verbs such as "proclaim," "announce," "cry," "foretell," "predict," "declare," "tell," "shout," "call by name," and "rebuke." Of special importance is the eschatological framework of the two passages cited above. In these oracles,

> . . .the word of God fills all time and space, fulfills God's purpose from creation to redemption, and addresses itself to Israel, to the nations, to heaven and earth, and to the whole complex of events which constitute the eschatological drama. Thus the whole of nature and history come under the reign of God's speaking, and to it they respond with joy and praise. The word of God assumes numerous literary forms, such as the words of judgment in the judicial scenes, words of promise and comfort in the oracles of salvation, and words of predition which give meaning to history. Especially powerful and moving are the direct and intimate words of address to Israel, whom God calls by name and to whom he proclaims his name.[83]

Thus the dominant reality in Second Isaiah is the Word of Yahweh.

Second Isaiah's place in Hebrew history may be sufficiently indicated by citing the distinctive traits of the prophet, as suggested by Muilenburg,

> 1) Poet and prophet meet in Second Isaiah. . .He is both poet and prophet, and both in a pre-eminent degree.[84]
> 2) The scope of the poet's perspective, the literary forms and types, the imminence of a great divine event, decisive and redemptive, make these poems

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[83] The quotation and the material in the preceding paragraph is taken from Muilenburg, ibid., p. 404.

[84] Ibid., p. 386

the supreme achievement of the Hebrew mind in history.[85]

3) He is Israel's profoundest thinker.[86]
4) Martin Buber calls him "the originator of a theology of world-history," and this is in reality the case.[87]
5) He is the first to connect creation with eternity.[88]
6) Nowhere else in the Old Testament do we encounter such constant stress on the divine purpose.[89]
7) The prophetic interpretation of the idea of the covenant received its greatest deepening with Second Isaiah.[90]

To these should be added the motif of the suffering Servant of Yahweh, since this is the first and only full presentation of vicarious suffering. These points only serve to indicate his greatness.

> . . .the author was a great prophet, perhaps the greatest of the prophets, certainly in the range of his vision, his grasp of the great tradition, and the exulting passion of his faith.[91]

Against this background, we may now turn our attention to the questions: "How did the material in Isaiah Chapters 40-66 affect early Christian interpretation and the thought of Jesus?" Although this is an extremely difficult question to answer, an attempt will be made with the discussion focused around two titles: "Lord" and "Servant." We will deal with the former of these first.

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[85] Ibid., p. 388.

[86] Ibid., p. 398.

[87] Loc. cit.

[88] Ibid., p. 402.

[89] Loc. cit.

[90] Ibid., p. 405.

[91] Ibid., p. 398; note Napier's words, op. cit., p. 290, "The movement of classical prophetism attains its ultimate expression in him."

B. "THE LORD" IN SECOND AND THIRD ISAIAH AND "THE LORD" JESUS

In exploring this section we will first deal with the usage and significance of the title "Lord" in the Hebrew and Old Greek (LXX) text, and then proceed to a discussion of the New Testament usage.

"Lord" in Old Testament Usage

Although at times other names are used, in the Old Testament the covenant name of God is יהוה. By this name the God of the Hebrews was primarily known. It was associated at first--it would seem--with the Mosaic covenant.[92] Being a Holy God, very soon the numinous character of His being led to an increasing avoidance of His name, for to utter His name was to invoke His direct presence, an experience which could utterly destroy the one who uttered His name. In the Hebrew text, therefore, the word אדני was occasionally used for the tetragrammaton; by the time of Jesus the word אדני was regularly read in scriptural readings instead of the divine name יהוה. Gottfriend Quell[93] conducts an incisive and excellent scholarly study of this process, and draws this conclusion,

> When used of Yahweh, 'ădhôn, like melekh, connotes His sovereign power. It is a title which corresponds to

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[92] For one of the latest discussions of the name "Yahweh" and its relationship to the covenant, see Raymond Abba, "The Divine Name Yahweh" in Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. LXXX (Pt. IV: December, 1961), 320-328.

[93] Gottfriend Quell, "The Old Testament Name for God" in "I. Lord," from Bible Key Words, Vm. II, from Gerhard Kittle's Theologisches Woerterbuch Zum Neuen Testament, translated and edited by J. R. Coates and H. P. Kingdon (New York: Harper and Bros., 1958), pp. 36-81. This is perhaps the best discussion of the name Yahweh and its significance.

> His being, only seldom does it point to His position as Lord of a district . . .in general the O. T. texts about Yahweh as 'ādhôn have already passed beyond the conception of Yahweh as lord of all. The form "Lord of the whole earth" (Mic. iv. 13; Zech. iv. 14, vi. 5; Ps. xcvii. 5; Joshua iii. 11 and 13) shows most clearly how the meaning has risen to be comprehensive. Thus this will also be the meaning when 'ādhôn stands in isolation (only Ps. cxiv. 7), and there can be no question about the "total" meaning for the lengthened form 'ādhônāi as well.[94]

> The God to whom the canon bears witness is called "Lord" because He is there shown to be the sole exerciser of power over the universe and all mankind, as the creator of the world and disposer of life and death. Thus the term "Lord" conveys a summary of the faith of the O. T. It is a completely successful attempt to express what God is, what is the practical significance for mankind of the holy, i.e., the advent of a personal will, and to express this with almost the same pregnancy and inevitability as is demanded by the special characteristics of the term Yahweh.[95]

The title "Lord" is therefore the title which above all indicates the sovereign will and power, known in creation and history, of Yahweh, the covenant God of Israel.

This conclusion can be illustrated copiously from the utterances of Second Isaiah; it is impossible exhaustively to do so in this place. Rather, the survey of Second Isaiah's thought conducted above will be referred to in general, as evidence of the sovereign power of God as portrayed in the oracles of this prophet. In particular, we might note the formulae of address and the self-asservations of Yahweh, which indicate the way in which Yahweh was apprehended by the prophet. Yahweh is the "Holy One of

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[94] Ibid., pp. 41-2.

[95] Ibid., p. 44.

Israel."[96] "Yahweh's holiness, while uniquely and peculiarly his, manifests itself in mighty acts and wonders, but supremely in the redemption of his people."[97] Thus Yahweh is the "Redeemer of Israel," a title frequently used.[98] This redemption is insured by the power of God "the Creator," a power which not only overwhelms the false gods but which provides the basis for history.[99] Yahweh is the "Eternal God";[100] He is "Judge," "King," "Savior," "Comforter," and "Teacher."[101] For Second Isaiah, above all, Yahweh Alone is God. This conviction is neither abstract nor theoretical.

> Rather, Yahweh makes himself known in mighty self-asservations as the only God, beside whom there is no other (44:6, 8; 45:5, 6, 21; cf. 41:26-27). The same thought is expressed in the oft-repeated "I am he," which is tantamount to "I am the only true God" (41:4; 43:15; 46:4; 48:12), and in the constant repetition of the first personal pronoun in the mouth of Yahweh and in the series of first person verbs.[102]

The content of Second Isaiah's oracles is a powerful statement of the meaning--fully developed--of the title "Lord."

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[96] 41:14,16,20; 43:3,14; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7,7; 54:5; 55:5

[97] James Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 400.

[98] 41:14; 43:14; 44:6,24:47:4; 48:17; 49:7,26; 54:5,8; cf. 59:20; 63:16

[99] Ibid., p. 401.

[100] 40:28

[101] See the discussion, ibid., p. 402.

[102] Ibid., p. 403.

This meaning was admirably captured and intensified by the Old Greek translation of the Hebrew. Although the word was not used solely for the translation of the divine name,

> . . .in the sphere of religion the designation κύριος or ὁ κύριος is confined to the true God and so corresponds (except for unimportant periphrases in metaphorical language) almost regularly--to be precise, 6,156 times--to the divine name YHWH in all its punctuations, and when followed by ṣ^{e}bhā'ôth, or shortened to yāh. Only by way of exception are the Hebrew terms for God translated as κύριος--'ēl 60 times, '^{e}lôah 23 times, '^{e}lôhîm 193 times, 'elohe ṣ^{e}bhā'ôth 3 times.[103]

Thus, it appears, the title κύριος was intentionally used by the translators to render the divine name Yahweh, which in turn--as has been shown--was closely associated with the Hebrew terms for "Lord."

The exact relationship between the old Greek rendering and 'adhônai as Q^{e}rê and even K^{e}thîbh is difficult to determine. On one hand, the Hebrew usage possibly had a direct effect on the old Greek rendering; on the other, the old Greek rendering may have had an effect on Hebrew usage. Quell discusses the problem, and inclines toward the latter alternative.[104] Since the problem is not especially relevant to the topic before us, we need not enter into the discussion. What is significant for our purposes, however, is that both in the Hebrew usage of late post-Exilic times and in the old Greek translation, dating from at least the Third Century B. C., the name of God had taken on the connotation of absolute sovereignty indicated by the title "Lord."

Moreover, the old Greek translation intensified this

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[103]Quell, op. cit., pp. 36-37 [104]Ibid., p. 38

connotation. Whereas in the Hebrew, the name of the covenant God was included in the text, in the LXX the name Yahweh was not present; in its place stood κύριος, and the title took on more profound significance through repetition.[105] In addition, the old Greek translation established a new usage of this title. Whereas in pagan literature, where the title was very common, the title was always used in conjunction with the name of the person of the deity, in the LXX the title was used by itself, with no identifying name attached, the implication being that the deity designated by the title was and is the only true God.

> The permanent use of κύριος by itself directs our thoughts to the legitimate, unbounded and also invisible power of God to dispose--his ἐξουσία. . . . The sole word κύριος, without the addition of a divine name (as later on in ethnic use and before in Babylon and Egypt), the appropriate word, was in itself sufficient to denote one God--but that means the one God. That was bound to suggest to the hearer God's boundless power to dispose over all things.[106]

> . . .the title is substituted for the name, and the implication is that the Bearer is "sovereign" in the absolute sense. There is no exact parallel to this in earlier or contemporary Greek. The complete disappearance of any personal name for God from the Greek Bible, and the substitution of the title κύριος, amounted in itself to a manifesto of monotheism.[107]

This usage is of extreme importance, because the LXX was the Bible

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[105]The title "Lord" appears over 100 times in Second Isaiah; note especially 43:10-13 and 45:5-7.

[106]Werner Foerster, "'Lord' in Late Judaism," in "I. Lord," from Bible Key Words, Vm. II, op. cit., p. 84.

[107]C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954), p. 11.

for the Hellenistic Christians.

One question remains: does the presence or the absence of the article ὁ affect the meaning of the title? Quell answers in the affirmative:

> . . .κύριος without the article preserves the character of the Hebrew basic word as a proper name more clearly than the form ὁ κύριος which . . .merely denotes a title.[108]

"Lord" as a Title of Jesus

Like the Septuagint, the New Testament could use the title "Lord" in reference to Yahweh. This feature, to a large extent, only reflects contemporary usage,[109] and occurs especially in passages which show strong influence from the Septuagint.[110] In several passages studied above, this title is used of Yahweh: in Romans 11:34, 35 (/// 40:13)[111] Paul clearly is using the title in reference to Yahweh, although the same passage from Isaiah is closely associated with Christ in I Cor. 2:16; in II Corinthians 7:4, 6 (# 49:13) Paul replaces the "Lord" of the Old Testament passage with "God," making explicit this identification.[112] In addition, in the apocalyptic passage II Corinthians 6:17

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[108] Quell, op. cit., p. 37.

[109] See Foerster, op. cit., p. 96; Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909), pp. 179-182.

[110] Foerster, op. cit., pp. 94-97.

[111] Supra, pp. 41-46.

[112] Supra, pp. 232-234.

(/// 52:11) the title "Lord" clearly means Yahweh.[113] These examples are exceptions to the prevailing usage of the New Testament.

This title is primarily applied in the New Testament to the Risen One, the Lord Jesus Christ. In terms of overall New Testament usage, this has been amply demonstrated by Werner Foerster.[114] For our purpose, a review and discussion of the usage of this title in New Testament passages associated with Isaiah Chapters 40-66 will be sufficient. We will seek to deal with the material by author or grouping, including evidence both from the anlysis of the citations and the evaluation of the allusions.

Paul's letters reflect a long-standing identification of Jesus the Risen Lord as the "Lord" of Second Isaiah. Most significant is the hymnic passage found in Philippians 2. As we have seen, the interpretation contained in this passage arose out of a long interpretative tradition, most probably pre-Pauline in origin. Two very significant passages are utilized in this hymn. Both are portentuous in impact and content. The first concerns the "name" of Yahweh, a "name" which Yahweh claims as His own: "I am the Lord, (MT:יהוה), that is my name; . . ." Corresponding to this are the verses,

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[113] Supra, pp. 97-99; this passage will also enter into our discussion below.

[114] Foerster, op. cit., pp. 97-105.

> . . .God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow . . . and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.[115]

As James Muilenburg comments, "Name and person are one; name signifies identity."[116] By bestowing His name upon the Risen Jesus, Yahweh has intimately associated or even identified Himself with Christ.[117] No less daring is the implementation of the second passage: Isaiah 45:22, 23,

> Turn to me and be saved,
> all the ends of the earth!
> For I am God (MT: אֵל), and there is no other.
> By myself I have sworn,
> from my mouth has gone forth in righteousness
> a word that shall not return:
> 'To me every knee shall bow,
> every tongue shall swear.'

Allusively in Philippians 2:10, 11, and by citation in Romans 14:11, the utterance contained in this passage is used in reference to the exaltation of Jesus.[118] His is the "name above every name"--κύριος, a rendering not excluded for the Hebrew אֵל.[119] This One--the Risen Lord--has spoken, and his word concerning the subjection of all things unto himself, and ultimately Yahweh, is sure. In these passages, the full sovereignty and authority--ἐξουσία--of Yahweh is present in the Risen

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[115] Philippians 2:9, 10 (in part), 11

[116] Cited above, p. 221.

[117] Supra, pp. 221f.

[118] Supra, pp. 227-229, 78-83

[119] Quell, op. cit., p. 37. The LXX, however, renders ὁ θεός .

Lord.[120]

These passages are primarily dependent upon the LXX; in fact, they transmit their portentuous implications only on the basis of this rendering. What is the implication of this observation? At the very least, it is this: these passages were of significance and of value among Christian circles using the LXX, and were used to substantiate and elaborate on the motif of the "Lordship" of Jesus the Risen One. This does not mean that the origin of this motif is to be found only in Greek-speaking Christian circles. Nor does this implication mean that the utilization of these passages were necessarily late in terms of the Christian interpretative tradition. These questions will be discussed in fuller fashion below. The inference indicates only that the Greek rendering of Isaiah Chapters 40-66 was an especially fertile field for the elaboration of this motif.

Not only was this identification present in the pre-Pauline tradition, but further interpretation resulted from it. Thus Paul refers to the "mind of Christ" in the same breath with the "mind of the Lord," with the latter phrase being somewhat ambiguous as to

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[120]So D. R. Griffith, Expository Times (1958), p. 237; Foerster, op. cit., pp. 98-101; Oscar Cullman, "Koenigsherrschaft Christi und Kirche im Neuen Testament," in Theologische Studien, Vol. 10, ed. by Karl Barth (Zuerich: U.-G. Zollikon, 1946), pp. 5-10, and The Earliest Christian Confessions, trans. by J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), p. 55; cf. Rudolf Bultmann "The Christological Confession of the World Council of Churches" in Essays: Philosophical and Theological (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), pp. 277-278. These references are selective.

its referent.[121] It is clear that the identification of the Lord Jesus with Yahweh the Lord stands behind this argument. Of special importance is the relationship between the Lord Jesus and the eschaton. In II Corinthians 6:2, Isaiah 49:8 is cited in tones which are heavily eschatological, for the statement deals with the "time of salvation" which precedes the end. The verse reads,

> For he says,
> "At the acceptable time I have listened to you,
> and helped you on the day of salvation."
> Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is
> the day of salvation.

The unitary character of this passage and its place in pre-Pauline tradition has been discussed above.[122] Here it is necessary to note that it is the Risen Lord, not Yahweh, who is speaking; he it is who is intervening; he it is who is offering salvation in the time before the end.[123] Moreover, the eschaton is associated with and will be initiated by the return of the Lord Jesus in power. This will be discussed further below; yet it is present in Paul's writings. Speaking of the consummation of history, Paul says,

> The Deliverer will come from Zion,
> he will banish ungodliness from Jacob;
> and this will be my covenant with them
> when I take away their sins.

As demonstrated above, "Zion" is the "heavenly Jerusalem," from

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[121] I Cor. 2:16 (/// Is. 40:13), see above, pp. 46-49.

[122] Supra, pp. 69-72.

[123] Supra, pp. 74-75, 210-211.

which the Risen Lord will come in power and judgment.[124] The same motif lies behind Galatians 4:26,27.[125] In both, the motif of Jesus as Lord and his relation to the eschaton is reflected.

Associated with this eschatological context is the relationship between the Risen Lord and his followers. Even as the Risen One is identified with the "Lord" of Isaiah 40-66, so those who proclaim his sovereignty are identified with his "heralds." This identification is made explicit in Romans 10:15, where Isaiah 52:7 is quoted in reference to the "preachers"; this passage reflects primitive thought. Those who proclaim the gospel are the eschatological "Heralds" of the "Lord" Jesus.[126] Even in the phrase "Lord, who has believed our report?" this connotation is maintained, for the "Lord" addressed is the Lord Jesus.[127] Moreover, the motive of Paul's missionary work is based upon an acute sense of the end-time and absolute obedience to the Lord's commands.[128] The ones who bore the proclamation were "Heralds" of the Lord Jesus. In addition to being "Heralds," they were his "servants"; in this sense several passages are used.[129] This title indicates their obedience to their Lord Jesus.

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[124] /// Isaiah 59:20-21, supra, pp. 189-192; see also Phil. 3:20.

[125] Supra, pp. 148-157. [126] Supra, pp. 87f.

[127] Rom. 10:15,16 /// Is. 53:1, supra, pp. 107-109, 114.

[128] Rom. 15:20, 21 /// Is. 52:15, supra, pp. 103, 105.

[129] II Cor. 6:2 /// Is. 49:8, supra, p. 72f,; Gal. 1:15 # 49:1, supra, p. 231. These and other passages will be discussed below in reference to the motif of the "servant."

Did Paul develop this motif? Apparently he did not do so to an appreciable degree. Nowhere does he seek to present in full this motif; wherever Jesus is referred to as Lord, Paul seems to be dealing with material long accepted in the interpretative tradition of the Christian church. Therefore, in the tradition before Paul both the identification and some of the implications of the identification of Jesus as Lord were present. We are dealing, therefore, with primitive material. We will reserve the question of the origin--both in respect to time and source--of this concept to a later time.

There can be no doubt that the same identification lies behind much of the interpretative element in the Synoptic Gospels. Isaiah 40:3, quoted in all three Synoptics, is a clear reflection of a long-established viewpoint, that in the coming of Jesus of Nazareth the "Lord" had come.[130] In two passages, this identification of the person of Jesus with "the Lord" stands in the background. In Mark 2:5 and Luke 5:21, Jesus has the full power of Yahweh to forgive sins; this seems to be a clear allusion to Isaiah 43:25 and 55:27, although other sources are possible.[131] More striking is the Lukan passage in which the Three "saw his glory," that is, the glory of the Lord.[132] Luke omitted this phrase from his citation of Isaiah

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[130] Mk. 1:3 // Matt 3:3 // Luke 3:4-6; also John 1:23, <u>supra</u>, pp. 18-21, 23-29.

[131] <u>Supra</u>, pp. 298-301.

[132] <u>Supra</u>, p. 336.

40:3;[133] perhaps he considered it to be more appropriate at the Transfiguration.

Such sparse usage of "kyriotic" passages from the Old Testament should not be surprising, for the Synoptic Gospels of necessity portray the Lord in terms of his historical ministry. The identification of Jesus as "Lord" could only be evidenced in subtle allusions, in the repeated use of the title of address "Lord," in the appearance of the editorial "the Lord," and in other such ways. Yet a close analysis of the Synoptic material indicates that the identification is present as the interpretative factor embedded in the material. Jesus acts as the "Lord," and this emphasis increases with Luke. He heals the sick, casts out demons, gives teachings with authority, and in every way mediates the will of Yahweh with power and insight. In the nature-miracles this authority comes to the fore, as is evidenced by at least one allusion to a non-Isaianic source.[134] The primitive belief in the return of the Lord is also reflected in the Synoptic material, especially in the words of Jesus to the Sanhedrin.[135] The Jesus of the Synoptic gospels is the Lord of the Pauline Epistles, as seen through the eyes of history.

By his activity, the Risen One is depicted as Lord in the

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[133] Supra, pp. 336.

[134] Matt. 14:25; Mk. 6:48 # Job 9:11, with reference to Jesus as "Lord" of Creation, supra, pp. 297-298.

[135] Cf. Mk. 15:60-62; Matt. 26:63-65; Lk. 22:66-71.

Acts of the Apostles. It is he who commissions Paul in Acts 13:47[136] and 26:18.[137] It is he who comforts Paul in Acts 18:9, 10.[138] The most important inference expressed in Acts of the Lordship of Jesus the Risen One is the motif of the early church as "witnesses." In the analysis of this motif conducted above,[139] three conclusions were drawn: 1) that the "witness" of the early church is always to the Resurrection, 2) that the Lordship of Christ is inextricably bound up with this motif, and 3) that the motif itself is quite ancient, probably coming from the Palestinian milieu. Moreover, it was demonstrated that this is quite clearly a motif which is derived from portions of Second Isaiah, in which Israel is spoken of as "the Lord's" witnesses. The early church, considering itself the "new Israel" and the Risen One "the Lord" applied these passages to itself, thus adding a third characterization to their mission. We have seen how the proclaimers of the gospel were "heralds" and "servants" of the Lord Jesus; we now add the term "witnesses" of the Lord. This motif is one of the few concepts drawn solely from Isaianic material. It is noteworthy, also, that this motif is found only in the Acts of the Apostles.

Although the reflections of this identification are far more sparse in the remainder of the non-apocalyptic, non-Johannine New

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[136]/// Is. 49:6, supra, pp. 64-66, 68.

[137]# 42:7, 16, supra, pp. 291-292

[138]# 41:10; 43:5, supra, pp. 281-282.

[139]Acts 5:32 et. al. # 43:10 et. al., supra, pp. 292-297.

Testament documents, it is still there. In Ephesians 2 we find an expression of the metaphor of the "armor of God," which was apparently traditional by the time of the author of this work. Two terms are of significance in that they imply the identification of Jesus with "the Lord" of Isaiah 40-66. In Ephesians 2:13-17, a clear allusion may be found to Isaiah 57:19: "Peace, peace, to the far and to the near, says the Lord; and I will heal him." The term "peace" signifies not the absence of strife alone, but full healing and wholeness; thus the phrase "and I will heal them" is a semi-parallel to the term "peace." Significantly, this term is associated with "the Lord." Behind the proclamation of "peace" stands the Risen Lord.[140] Associated with this term "peace" is the motif of "good news," both in its verbal and nominal form.[141] The "Lord" is able to give "peace" or "salvation," and this is "good news" to those who have been subject to the reign of sin. The identification is quite clear in I Peter.[142] In the same work we find the motif of "the word of the Lord," which we have discussed above in part, and which will be resumed and completed below.

By far the fullest exploration of this identification is to be found in the Johannine literature, especially in the Fourth

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[140] See above, pp. 264-270, the full discussion of the meaning, connotation, and usage of this inferential motif in the New Testament; also the possible allusion to Isaiah 52:7 in Acts 10:36, pp. 278-9.

[141] See above, 87-88 (Is. 52:7 /// Rom. 10:15), pp. 264-270, 278-279.

[142] Supra, pp. 38-40.

Gospel. The author of the Fourth Gospel shares fully in the identification; moreover, various passages in John show how this identification made possible the more complete development of this motif, on the basis primarily of Isaiah 40-66. The clearest reflection of this motif is to be found in John 12:37, 38, citing Isaiah 53:1; above it was demonstrated that "Lord" quite definitely referred not to Yahweh but to the Risen Lord.[143] This OT text was appropriated by John to explain the lack of response to the "mighty works" of the Lord, although the first portion of the passage had a different function in traditional interpretation.[144] For John the "arm of the Lord," so prominent in Second Isaiah and in other parts of the Old Testament, meant the "arm of the Lord (Jesus)." The "arm of the Lord" was visible in the mighty acts, the "signs," which were of such significance for the early Christians in non-Pauline circles.[145] Up to this point the author of the Fourth Gospel does not go beyond the basically historical context of Paul and the Synoptics. Although the identification of Jesus with the "Lord" of the Old Testament was long accepted, and the note of pre-existence was present in the pre-Johannine tradition (e.g., Phil. 2), the interpretation of the person of Jesus in general and his Lordship in particular was largely determined by the facts of history. In John, however, the shift has been made from an interpreted history to an historical interpretation; the

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[143] Supra, p. 113

[144] Supra, pp. 107-109

[145] Supra, pp. 109-112, 117f.; see also supra, p. 371.

interpretative factors are as important--and sometimes more important--than the actual historical events. The effect of this shift on the motif of the Lordship of Christ is important: whereas for Paul the role of Lord was bestowed on the Risen One by Yahweh as a result of his historical obedience and humiliation, for John Jesus was the historical manifestation of the pre-existent Lord, who tabernacled among men, retaining all of the authority, power, and insight of his pre-existent status. It was quite acceptable, therefore, from John's standpoint, to regard passages spoken by "the Lord" in the Old Testament as the words of the pre-existence Lord, who was known historically in Jesus. Hence in John 11:40, the author states explicitly that Isaiah "saw" the Lord Jesus, in his call vision recorded in Isaiah 6:1.[146] In the full sense, in several passages concerning the revelation of the "glory of the Lord," he can see prophecies which find their fulfillment in Jesus.[147] Likewise, the attribute of "light," so significant in Hellenistic literature and in some passages in Isaiah as a characteristic of "the Lord," can be seriously and fully applied to the Lord Jesus.[148] The motif of the "gathering" of the children of God, a motif central in the interpretation and plot of John's gospel, is drawn from the passages dealing with the "gathering" of the

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[146] Supra, pp. 350-351.

[147] John 1:14; 11:40 # 40:15; 42:8; 48:11; 60:1-2; 66:18-20, supra, pp. 344-351 for extensive discussion.

[148] John 1:4; 8:12, et. al. # Is. 60:1-2, supra, pp. 352-357.

children of Israel by the Lord in Second Isaiah.[149] Likewise, passages which speak of "water" offered by the Lord in Second Isaiah are embodied in sayings of the Lord Jesus in John concerning the "water of life."[150] On the same basis, Jesus--as the Lord of Second Isaiah--speaks what is right.[151] John feels free to start with Scripture concerning the "Lord" and apply these Scriptures to Jesus in order to interpret the significance of his work. If further evidence be necessary, determinative proof of this method may be found in John's usage of Isaiah 66:18-20, for the author of the Fourth Gospel accepts this passage as the basic prophetic passage which finds its complete fulfillment in Jesus of Nazareth. It is even possible to view John's gospel as a fusion of the historical material, its traditional interpretation, and the passage before us. Although the passage has been cited and discussed thoroughly above, perhaps it would be best to again quote the passage, only on this occasion underlining the various motifs comprehended by it, all of which are directly associated with the identification of Jesus the Risen One with the Lord of Isaiah 40-66. Allusions to motifs in John not considered above will be indicated by references in parenthesis.

. . .says the <u>Lord</u>
<u>For I know their works and their thoughts</u> (# John 2:24)

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[149]John 10:16; 11:52 # Is. 49:12; 51:4-5; 55:5; 56:7; 60:3; 65:1 (LXX); 62:2; especially 66:18, <u>supra</u>, pp. 363-372.

[150]John 4:14; 6:35 # 49:10, <u>supra</u>, pp. 360-362.

[151]John 18:20 # 45:19, <u>supra</u>, p. 362.

> and I am coming (# John 12:13, 15) to gather all nations (or Gentiles) and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory and I will set a sign among them. And from them I will send survivors (or: "those who have been saved") to the nations (or Gentiles), . . . that have not heard my name or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations (or Gentiles).

It is neither possible nor necessary again to discuss extensively this passage.[152] Its almost total assimilation into John's gospel is apparent.

This insight into John's interpretative approach--from Scripture to Jesus rather than from Jesus to Scripture--may be seen in at least two other instances. In both of these no clear-cut allusion or assimilation is present. Yet they are clearly discernable, and they indicate the consummate skill and artistry of the author of this gospel. In the Garden, confronted by soldiers and those who were to arrest him, Jesus said, "'Whom do you seek?" They answered him, 'Jesus of Nazareth.' Jesus said to them, 'I am he.' Judas, who betrayed him, was standing with them. When he said to them, 'I am he,' they drew back and fell to the ground." (18:4-6). Again the questions are repeated, and the same answers given. It may be suggested that Jesus was merely identifying himself. Yet this does not explain the drastic reaction of the questioners. Neither may their reaction be regarded as the fulfillment of Psalm 27:2. Clearly the sentence is intended to indicate the "numinous awe" which overwhelmed the

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[152] The passage has been extensively discussed supra, pp. 368-372.

soldiers. They had encountered the presence of the Lord in all of his power; it was the overwhelming majesty of the Lord which threw them down. This phrase, ἐγὼ εἰμι, rings throughout Second Isaiah; as we have seen, it is the strongest asservation that Yahweh the Lord can make. It implies His aloneness, and is associated with His name, which is His very identity. By making this phrase central in some of the major utterances of Jesus the author of this gospel is pointing out the intimate relationship between Yahweh and the Lord, between Father and Son.[153] That this is an intentional fusion is clear for these reasons: 1) in 18:6 John says specifically that they fell back when he said, "I am he;" 2) the phrase is repeated three times in the pericope; 3) in 13:19, Jesus says explicitly to his disciples that he has told them of his betrayal before it happened in order that when it took place they would believe that "I am he." The meaning of this asservation is manifest in the passage concerning Abraham seeing the Lord's day: "Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was, I am (ἐγὼ ειμί)" (8:58). The Jews properly regarded this as blasphemy (8:59).[154] Again the meaning is clear in 8:24, a passage in which the author repetitiously uses the verb "to be": ". . .for you will die in your sins unless you believe that I am he". John 8:28 repeats this, "So Jesus said, 'When you have lifted

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[153]For an extensive discussion of this formula--including both background and usage in the Fourth Gospel--see Eduard Schweizer, Ego Eimi: die religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Zuellenfrage des vierten Evangeliums (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1939).

[154]8:58-59.

up the Son of man, then you will know that I am he, . . .'" In John 4:26 the formula is associated with the motif of the Messiah. In John 6:21, in a pericope which has attracted our attention above,[155] coupled with an injunction which may have been derived from Second Isaiah ("Fear not"), is to be found the same formula. In this latter instance the formula is the same as in Mark and Matthew, and therefore not necessarily theological in its meaning; however, as it is used in John, theological connotations seem to be unavoidable. The author of the Gospel of John characteristically expands the meaning of this term by a series of sayings which utilize it. All are of extreme significance in understanding John's gospel message. In these passages the formula is related to the symbols of "the bread of life,"[156] "the light of the world,"[157] "the door,"[158] "the good shepherd,"[159] "the resurrection and the life,"[160] "the way, the truth, and the life,"[161] and "the vine."[162] In sharp contrast to these strong asservations are the negative statements of both John the Baptist[163] and Simon Peter.[164] In the usage of this

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[155] John 6:19 # Isaiah 43:16, Job 9:8, <u>supra</u>, p. 359-360.

[156] 6:35, 48

[157] 8:12; 9:5

[158] 10:7, 9

[159] 10:11, 14

[160] 11:25

[161] 14:6

[162] 15:1,5

[163] 1:20,21

[164] 18:17, 25

formula we seem to have a clear, creative application of material from Second Isaiah to interpret the person of Jesus Christ.

Finally, the motif of the Lordship of the Risen Jesus may be explored in apocalyptic sources. Apocalyptic has been noted in several documents in the New Testament, chief of which is the Revelation of John of Patmos. In these sources as well the identification of Jesus as "the Lord" is quite clearly present. Chief among the results of this identification is the association of the Second Coming of the Risen One with the final Day of the Lord of the Old Testament. This Coming at the eschaton is conceived of in apocalyptic imagery. In the Old Testament, prior to the Exile, this Day was conceived of in basically historical terms.[165] After the Exile, however, the Day became a cosmic occurrence, and signified the end of this created order.[166] The New Testament view is basically that of post-Exilic Judaism. Among the New Testament writers who accepted this apocalyptic coming, we may place Paul,[167] perhaps the Synoptic writers,[168] the author of II Peter,[169] and the Revelation of John of Patmos.[170]

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[165] See, for instance, Amos 5:18-20; Isaiah 2:6-22, 3:16-4:1; Zephaniah 1:7-18; Jeremiah 30:4-7c; cf. Obadiah 1:15-21.

[166] Isaiah 63:1-6; Joel, esp. 3:14-18; cf. Isaiah 34:1-17.

[167] I Thess. 4:15-5:2; II Thess. 1:7-8 (# Is. 66:15, 16, supra, pp. 270-272); 2:1-17; also Philippians 1:6, "day of Jesus Christ."

[168] See "The Synoptic Apocalypse," Matt 24:4-36 // Mark 13:5-37 // Luke 21:8-36.

[169] II Peter 3:10 # Isaiah 66:15, 16, supra, p. 397.

[170] Rev. 3:11; 22:7, 12 # Isaiah 40:10, supra, pp. 401-408.

For these, the motif of the apocalyptic coming of the Lord signifies the coming of the Lord Jesus. In many instances, this motif is supported and elaborated with the aid of passages from Isaiah 40-66. This process of elaboration is especially evident in the Revelation of John of Patmos. In this document, it is made clear--partially by the use of passages from Isaiah 40-66--that at the judgment the enemies of God and His servants will be destroyed, like Babylon of old,[171] destroyed in the "wine press of fury of the wrath of God."[172] On the other hand, the servants of God will be led by the Lamb by "streams of living water," completely sheltered from all harm.[173] For them, all "mourning and sorrow" will be abolished.[174] According to the author of the Revelation, all things will be made new,[175] including a "new heaven" and a "new earth,"[176] and a "new Jerusalem" presently not a part of this world, but in the end-time it will descend, splendid with beauty, the dwelling place of God and the

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[171]Rev. 18:6 # 40:2; 47:6, fused with Jer. 50:15, 29; Psalm 137:8-9: "Babylon" will receive a "double portion," supra, pp. 400-401.

[172]Rev. 14:20; 19:15 # Isaiah 63:1-3, 6, fused with Joel 3:13, supra, p. 434.

[173]Rev. 7:16, 17 # 49:10, supra, pp. 413-416; also Rev. 21:6; 22:17 # 49:10; 55:1, "'water of life' without price," supra, pp. 423f.

[174]Rev. 21:4; 7:17 # Isaiah 25:8; 35:10 primarily, but fused with 65:17, 19, supra, pp. 436-437.

[175]Rev. 21:5 # Isaiah 43:19; 65:17, et. al., supra, pp. 404-405, II Cor. 5:17 # Isaiah 43:9, cf., supra, pp. 219-220.

[176]II Peter 3:13 # Isaiah 65:17; 66:22, supra, pp. 396-397.

Lamb, with its gates continually open and without darkness or despair.[177] All these things, and more, will take place by the power and authority of He who is "alpha" and "omega,"[178] an attribute derived from Second Isaiah, and attributed to both the Lamb[179] and the Almighty.[180] With these things in store, His servants are called to withdraw from all things unclean[181] for they are "priests" to God.[182] The full identification of Jesus the Risen One with the "Lord" of Isaiah 40-66 is quite clearly present. What is more, the motif is a fully developed one. Surprisingly, however, at no time is the title κύριος used of the "Lamb," in spite of the fact that numerous passages used of the Lamb in the Revelations is spoken by or closely associated with the "Lord" in Second Isaiah. How may this usage be explained? It seems probable that the prophet of Patmos refused to use this title of Jesus the Risen One because he was a realist. Although he was willing to confess that ultimately all sovereignty would

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[177] Rev. 21:2-10; 21:27 # 52:1, perhaps 61:10, 48:2, also Joel 3:17, supra, pp. 418f.; Rev. 21:18f. # Isaiah 54:11, fused with elements from Ex. 28 and 39, supra, pp. 422-423; Rev. 21:25, 26 # Isaiah 60:11, supra, pp. 427-428; see also Galatians 4:26, 27 /// Isaiah 54:1, supra, pp. 148-157; Romans 11:26, 27 /// Isaiah 59:20, 21a, supra, pp. 189f.

[178] Rev. 1:8, 17; 2:8; 21:6; 22:13 # Isaiah 44:6; 48:12, et. al., supra, pp. 405-409.

[179] Rev. 1:17; 2:8, ibid.

[180] Rev. 1:8; 21:6, ibid.

[181] II Corinthians 6:17 /// Isaiah 52:11, supra, p. 97; Rev. 18:4 # 52:11, supra, pp. 419f.

[182] Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6; I Peter 2:5,9.

be exercised by the Almighty through the Lamb at the eschaton, that power was not yet actualized on a universal scale. For the church, yes; for the world, no. The only effective sovereignty was being exercised by the Lord God Almighty. At the eschaton, however, the full authority and power of the Lamb would be revealed and become effective on a universal scale; the authority and status which He now occupies in the heavenly Jerusalem would be fully actualized on earth. Then, and only then, would the name "Lord" be used of him. We seem to have some suggestion of this coming event in the name of the "new Jerusalem": "the Lord is there."[183] Also John relates how the one "like unto the Son of man" will be given a "new name" by the Lord God Almighty. Is he suggesting the bestowal of the title "Lord" at the eschaton?[184] Although we cannot be sure of these specific questions, John of Patmos refuses to use the title of the Risen One; it is equally clear that the motif of Jesus as the "Lord" is inextricably related to the message of this apocalypse.

In summary, in the New Testament Jesus the Risen One is in possession of both the title and the sovereignty of the "Lord," bestowed by the Father as a result of his obedience. Raised from the dead, he is now in authority. The purposes of God are made known to his disciples by his "mind," and as the one in authority he sends forth his followers to be his "heralds," his "servants,"

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[183] Supra, p. 150, pp. 432.

[184] Idem.

and his "witnesses," proclaiming the "good news" of "peace" (i.e., salvation) to the ends of the earth, to make known "the word of the Lord." He who is now "Lord" was also "Lord" in his earthly ministry, with power to "forgive sins," and to command the forces of creation. The retrojection of the "Lordship" of Christ into the historical Jesus of Nazareth is clearest and most open in the Fourth Gospel. In this gospel, the works of Jesus were expressions of the "arm of the Lord"; he is the pre-existent Lord whom Isaiah saw, who fulfilled his promise "I am coming" by tabernacling among men, retaining the power to perceive what was in man, revealing the "glory" of Yahweh, embodying "light," offering the "water of life" to all who would believe. The end-result was "the gathering" of the children of God, including the Gentiles. The numinous quality of the Lord is presented in the various expressions of the "I am" formula, on one hand by the phrase "I am He," on the other by the use of symbols---"the bread of life," "the light of the world," "the door," "the good shepherd," "the resurrection and the life," "the way, the truth, and the life," "the vine"--as a predicate nominative. Yet He who was before, was, and now is "Lord," will be the "Lord" of the <u>eschaton</u>, at which time he will come to destroy his enemies, succour his followers, abolish the old heaven and earth, and dwell with his own in the "new Jerusalem" forevermore. The identification of Jesus as "Lord" is therefore at the very core of the Christian proclamation, and Isaiah 40-66---interpreted in the light of God's mighty acts in Christ Jesus--provided the most fertile and formative source for the elaboration of

this motif.

The origin of the identification

Since we have demonstrated the way in which Isaiah 40-66 was used to elaborate the identification of Jesus the Risen One with the "Lord," we must now pose the question concerning the origin of this usage. Actually, two questions are involved: At what stage and in which communities of the early church did this identification arise? What was the basis for this interpretative identification?

Wilhelm Bousset in 1913 published his book entitled Kyrios Christos, in which he maintained that "Lord" as a title for Christ originated in the Hellenistic Christian churches, and arose from the usage of the term in Hellenistic culture.[185] The thesis of the book, which for some time resulted in considerable controversy, has been recently endorsed by Rudolf Bultmann.[186] In spite of Bultmann's acceptance, most modern scholars have thoroughly

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[185]D. Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfaengen des Christentums bis Irenaeus (Goettingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913); second edition, 1921; also Jesus der Herr: Nachtraege und Auseinandersetzungen zu Kyrios Christos (Goettingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1916).

[186]Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. by Kendrick Grobel, Vol. I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 51-52; Essays: Philosophical and Theological, trans. by James C. G. Grieg (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), pp. 277-278.

rejected this thesis.[187] What are the reasons for the rejection of this view? First, the title "Lord" with reference to Jesus is extremely wide-spread in the New Testament documents; the identification therefore must have been traditional when these documents were written.[188] The discussions in this paper support this inference. The title "Lord" has been noted in all the New Testament documents, except the Johannine letters and possibly the Revelation of John of Patmos. Such widespread distribution can only be accounted for by an extremely early date. Especially is this true in reference to passages which infer traditional formulation, e.g., Philippians 2, or which seem to be related to the Hebrew text, e.g., II Corinthians 5:17 # 43:19.[189] Secondly, not only the title is present in many documents, but the content of the identification is present even where the title is absent.[190] Our study has demonstrated that this

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[187] Eduard Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship, No. 28 in Studies in Biblical Theology series (Naperville, Ill: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1960), pp. 56-58; Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, trans. by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), pp. 201-215; Werner Foerster, "Kyrios in the New Testament," Bible Key Words, from Gerhard Kittle's Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament, op. cit., p. 109; C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (New York: Harper and Brothers, [n. d.]), p. 167f.; C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 201f.; Floyd V. Filson, The New Testament Against Its Environment, No. 3 in Studies in Biblical Theology series (Chicago, Ill: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1956), pp. 36ff.

[188] Filson, op. cit., p. 36ff.; Schweizer, op. cit., p. 56.

[189] Supra, p. 220.

[190] Schweizer, op. cit., p. 57f.

also is true, e.g., passages in the Revelation assimilated from "kyriotic" passages in Second Isaiah without the use of the title. Thirdly, the identification is distributed among divergent New Testament sources and genre, e.g., Paul's epistles, the Synoptics, John's gospel, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse of John of Patmos. Only an extremely early date can account for this fact. Fourthly, the identification of Jesus with the "Lord" is never argued, only assumed. It is clear that this is an accepted teaching.[191] Therefore, it must be extremely early. The fifth consideration indicates not only the time of origin but the location: the Aramaic phrase maranatha can only be adequately explained as a formulation by the Aramaic-speaking Palestinian church at an early date.[192] Bousset and Bultmann reject this contention, yet they cannot agree on an adequate explanation for the phrase in the New Testament material, nor can they offer evidence to support their view.[193] The phrase is best understood as a formulation of the early Palestinian church. It may be true that the title "Lord" in this Aramaic word has a suffix, and thus cannot be classed as an absolute use of the title.[194] Yet more than respect is involved;

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[191] Filson, op. cit., p. 38ff.

[192] Filson, ibid., p. 38; Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 213-215; Dodd, op. cit., p. 167; Foerster, op. cit., pp. 109-110; Barrett, op. cit., pp. 200-201; John Knox, "Exegesis" to "The Epistle to the Romans," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. by George A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., Vol. IX (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1954), p. 559.

[193] See Cullman's discussion, op. cit., p. 213f.

[194] Foerster, op. cit., p. 109.

the phrase clearly involves reverential usage,[195] and is probably an imperative used as a liturgical-eschatological prayer.[196] In any case, the formula clearly supports an Aramaic-speaking Palestinian origin for the identification of Jesus as "Lord."

We may now seek to answer the second question concerning the basis for this identification, "What was the basis for this interpretative identification?" We should first note that, according to common usage, "Lord" as a title of respect was used of Jesus, as of any person with authority, although as a vocative the title seldom occurs in the Gospel material.[197] Dalman has demonstrated that in the Palestinian Jewish literature both מָרִי and רַבִּי are accepted styles of address; "the most natural supposition, therefore, is that both should be found in the case of Jesus."[198] Used in this way, these terms were "no more than the respectful designation of the Teacher on the part of the disciples."[199] Yet the nature of discipleship raises some doubts concerning such usage: did not the demand for absolute obedience by Jesus--unlike the other Teachers--carry with it acknowledgement of the greater authority of the Master?[200] Even if

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[195] Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 208-214; Schweizer, op. cit., p. 58; Dodd, op. cit., p. 167f.

[196] Cullmann, ibid., pp. 209-212.

[197] Foerster, op. cit., pp. 92-94, 106-108.

[198] Dalman, op. cit., pp. 328-329; Foerster, ibid., p. 107.

[199] Dalman, ibid., p. 329.

[200] Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 204-205; Schweizer, op. cit., 58.

this be granted, however, the terms used in reference to Jesus would be the common terms, only intensified by the nature of the disciple--Master relationship. Such usage cannot account for the later usage of this title "Lord" in the New Testament. The title "Lord" is occasionally used by Paul to refer to "the historical Jesus;"[201] this, however, seems to be either a remnant of the common usage or a retrojection of later interpretation.

What then was the basis for the identification of Jesus as "Lord"? Quite clearly it was the Resurrection for the title is closely associated with this event.[202] Cullmann makes this quite clear,

> . . .it is certain that the Kyrios title applied to Jesus received its full meaning only after his death and exaltation. It is characteristic of the expression Kyrios Jesus that it refers to his post-Easter, present work fulfilled in the state of exaltation.[203]

That the Resurrection was the historical event out of which the identification of Jesus as "Lord" arose is clear. The early Christians, under the influence of the impact of the Resurrection, began to ask who this One is. In order to find the answer, as good Jews they searched the Scriptures. Thus began the drive for scriptural fulfillment, which has provided the dominant color of the New Testament material. On what Scriptural basis was this

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[201] Foerster, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

[202] Schweizer, op. cit., pp. 56-67; Foerster, op. cit., pp. 97-103.

[203] Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

identification made between Jesus the Risen One and the "Lord"? The answer seems to be Psalm 110:1: "The Lord (MT: יהוה; LXX: ὁ κύριος) says to my lord (MT: לַאדֹנִי; LXX: τῷ κυρίῳ μου): 'Sit at my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool.'" At least three reasons may be given for this answer. One, Jesus himself discussed this passage with the Pharisees. It is not to be assumed that the verse had the same meaning in this discussion; for Jesus, the verse demonstrated that the Messiah was to have transcendent power--unlike the "Son of David" nationalist Messiah--and perhaps also that the Messiah would not even be a "Son of David."[204] Jesus' usage would definitely draw attention to this verse after the Resurrection, when the disciples recalled his teachings. Two, assuming that David was the author of the Psalm, as did Jesus and his contemporaries, the verse definitely indicates two personages with suprahuman sovereignty. The fact that different Hebrew words are used in the MT for the two personages made it quite simple for the early Christians to recognize in the second term--אֲדֹנִי--the Resurrected One, prophesied beforehand by David. The validity of this point is supported by the fact that this verse is the only source for the idea of Jesus sitting at the right hand of God.[205] In addition, the centrality of this Psalm for much New Testament interpretation

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[204]E.g., see N. B. Stonehouse, The Witness of Luke to Christ, (London: The Tyndale Press, 1951), p. 168; also Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 130-132.

[205]Foerster, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

is indicative of its antiquity: the Psalm (110:1) appears in the Synoptic parallels to this verse, Heb. 1:13, 5:6, 7:17, 21, and is referred to in Mark 14:62 (and parallels), Acts 7:56; Rom 8:34; I Cor. 15:24ff.; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:3, 8:1, 10:12f.; I Peter 3:22; Rev. 3:21.[206] Three, this interpretation of Psalm 110:1 is stated explicitly in Acts 2:34. The identification of Jesus the Risen One with the second "Lord" of Psalm 110:1 took place soon after the Resurrection, in the earliest Aramaic-speaking, Palestinian community; this identification was the most crucial and most significant interpretative discovery in the history of the Christian church.

Once the Risen Jesus was regarded as the second person of Psalm 110:1, with the title "Lord," other Scriptures might then be utilized to elaborate this interpretation. Since the Palestinian Christians were most probably working with the Hebrew text, these additional--and supplementary--passages must focus on a person of transcendent sovereignty, but who was not referred to as "Yahweh." At least one passage from Second Isaiah, of almost equal consequence with Psalm 110:1, may be suggested: Isaiah 45:22-23.

> Turn to me and be saved,
> all the ends of the earth!
> For I am God (MT: אֵל; LXX: ὁ θεός),
> and there is no other.
> By myself I have sworn,
> from my mouth has gone forth in righteousness
> a word that shall not return:

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[206] Cited by H. B. Swete, The Gospel According to St. Mark, Third Edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1913), p. 289.

"To me every knee shall bow,
every tongue shall swear."

In the discussion above,[207] it was demonstrated that Isaiah 45:23 is attributed to the living Lord Jesus, not to Yahweh, although Paul in Romans 14:11 makes another use of the total citation. The identification of the Risen One as the speaker in this verse, implicit in Pauline usage, has been determined to be traditional; this factor accounts for Paul's usage of the total passage. It has also been demonstrated that Philippians 2:10, 11, in a passage which is quite old, utilizes this passage to present the motif of the "Lordship" of the Risen One. Was this passage implemented at an early date to support and extend the significance of the identification of Jesus as "my Lord" of Psalm 110:1? It must be admitted that, if Isaiah 45:22 was also included in the unit, the early date is a necessity, for the LXX translates the divine name in 45:22 as ὁ θεός, a name that could hardly be applied to the Risen One even in the time of Paul. The Hebrew is far more permissive, and--granting the prior implementation of Psalm 110:1--is not even unlikely, for the Hebrew term is אֵל, a term which on the one hand is not inextricably associated with Yahweh and on the other hand could well be used of the Exalted Jesus.[208] It may even be argued that the implied usage which lies behind Paul's

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[207] Supra, pp. 79-83.

[208] Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures, trans. by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1893), p. 45, makes this clear.

implementation assumes the identification of the Risen One with אֵל of 45:22. It seems probable, therefore, that Isaiah 45:22, 23 was used in the early Palestinian church, at an extremely early date, to develop the theme of "Jesus as Lord" originally based on Psalm 110:1.

These two passages, therefore, laid the foundation for the full development and acceptance of Jesus as Lord in the early Palestinian community. Psalm 110:1, the primary passage, revealed Jesus' identity as "Lord," seated at the right hand of God, with the full power and sovereignty that the name itself indicates. Isaiah 45:23 provided the scriptural statement of that sovereignty and the assurance of its inevitable establishment.[209] Other secondary texts from Old Testament sources other than Isaiah 40-66 may have been present at this stage. In any case, within the first year the identification had been made and the process of development started. The rapidity with which this developed is manifest in the extensive interpretative tradition which Paul received. Nor is it necessary to assume that the application of "kyriotic" passages from the LXX, or other Greek versions, arose only in the church at Antioch. Early applications of Greek

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[209] The motif of the "word" of the "Lord" should be noted. Are there any expressions of this motif with this meaning: i.e., the Lord's statement of his own ultimate victory? The answer is "no." Although we may have intimations of such an earlier usage in Romans 10:9 ("the word . . . Jesus as Lord") and the title "Lord" in I Peter 1:25 (supra, pp. 34-36), with Paul and I Peter, as well as with many of the other New Testament writers, the phrase "word of the Lord" signifies the gospel proclamation, the "word of God."

scripture were possibly made by the Hellenists in the Jerusalem community (Acts 6:1). However, this process continued, and perhaps received its greatest impetus, in the Hellenistic Christian churches. Certainly within these communities the title would take on additional--and perhaps modified--meaning.[210] That the process of development continued for a long time is evident in the handling of this motif by the Fourth Gospel writer.

In summary, for the earliest Christians Jesus the Risen One was the One addressed as "my Lord" by David in Psalm 110:1, and the One with full authority and ultimate sovereignty, as expressed in Isaiah 45:23. He was at God's right hand, exercising the full power and might of God, directing his "heralds," guiding and protecting his servants, known in power within the church. Although not identical with Yahweh, authority, power, and status had been bestowed upon him by Yahweh, and on Yahweh's behalf he was bringing into subjection all persons and all things through his witnesses and through his mighty acts. He who is Lord of the

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[210]". . .for Paul's converts the confession "Jesus is Lord" would suggest that He had chosen them to belong to the community of His worshippers, and that, while others might belong to Hermes, Serapis, and the rest, they belonged exclusively to Him. With the Hebrew [and LXX] background in view, it would suggest that God had conferred upon Christ His own Name as the covenant-God of Israel--the "Name above all names" (cf. Phil. ii. 9-11)--to indicate that all divine activity for the salvation of men is henceforward concentrated in Him. In any case, the title "Lord" belongs to Christ specifically as "head over everything for the Church, the Church which is His body" (Eph. i. 22; cf. Col. i. 18), and as destined Head of the whole universe (Phil. ii. 11; Eph. i. 10; I Cor. xv. 25)," citing C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, op. cit., pp. 167-168.

church is also to be Lord of the world; He who is Lord in the present is He who was Lord in the Scriptures, and dwelt in the presence of God from the beginning. He who is Lord from the beginning will be Lord at the end. Finally, the Lord of the beginning and the Lord of the end was made manifest in the historical person, Jesus of Nazareth. This recognition that JESUS CHRIST IS LORD began with Psalm 110:1; its development, however, primarily depended upon Isaiah 40-66. This usage was the main contribution of Isaiah 40-66 to New Testament thought.

C. JESUS AND THE "SERVANT OF THE LORD" OF SECOND ISAIAH

The identification of the crucified Jesus with the vicariously suffering servant of the Lord of Second Isaiah has almost become an axiomatic assumption of most modern New Testament and Biblical scholars. Among this number may be counted such men as Vincent Taylor, Rudolph Otto, C. J. Caddoux, H. W. Wolff, William Manson, J. W. Bowman, C. R. North, Wheeler Robinson, Joachim Jeremias, T. W. Manson, and R. H. Fuller, to name but a few. This traditional view has been opposed by such eminent scholars as F. J. Foakes Jackson, Kirsopp Lake, Martin Dibelius, H. J. Cadbury, Wilhelm Bousset, Rudolf Bultmann, C. G. Montefiore, and J. M. Creed.[211] The most recent statement against this traditional

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[211]The views of both the advocates and the opponents of the thesis are thoroughly discussed and evaluated by Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant (London: S. P. C. K., 1959), pp. 1-20.

viewpoint is that of Morna Hooker, in her book entitled Jesus and the Servant published in 1959;[212] her book forcefully presents the thesis that the identification of Jesus with the Servant of the Lord of Second Isaiah is not present in the New Testament. One of the strongest statements of the opposite position is to be found in W. Zimmerli's and J. Jeremias' article on "The Servant of God" in Kittel's theological Wordbook.[213] We will have occasion to deal with the latter of these sources; their discussion will provide the foundation on which our discussion will be based. Which of the two views are supported by evidence derived from the study conducted above? Is Jesus in the New Testament identified with the vicariously suffering servant of Yahweh in Second Isaiah? Is Jesus considered the "servant of God," and--if so--what is the meaning of this term? How did Jesus understand his own mission? What significance did he see in his suffering? Did he--like or unlike the early church--regard himself as the suffering servant of Isaiah 53? If not, why not? How can we account for the absence--if such be the case--of this motif from New Testament interpretation?

These questions are exceedingly difficult and significant, for in varying degrees they are related to long-established devotional

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[212] Ibid.

[213] W. Zimmerli, J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, No. 20 in Studies in Biblical Theology, trans. by Harold Knight from Kittel's Theologisches Woerterbuch zum NT (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957); pp. 79-104 are especially relevant for our discussion.

thought. Yet, on the basis of the studies conducted above, with one exception the identification of Jesus with the vicariously suffering servant of the Lord of Second Isaiah is not present in the early interpretative work of the first-century church, as this interpretative work is represented in the New Testament. The evidence for this conclusion may be presented from two viewpoints: 1) that of scriptural implementation and 2) that of conceptual analysis.

Evidence Derived From the Usage of Isaianic Material

The evidence derived from scriptural implementation may be presented. In our analyses above, we have noted seven citations from the "servant songs" of Second Isaiah: (1) Isaiah 42:1-4 /// Matt. 12:18-21; (2) Isaiah 49:6 /// Acts 13:47; (3) Isaiah 49:8abc /// II Cor. 6:2; (4) Isaiah 53:1 /// Rom. 10:15, 16; John 12:37-38; (5) Isaiah 53:4ab /// Matt. 8:17; (6) Isaiah 53:7,8 /// Acts 8:32-33; (7) Isaiah 53:12 /// Luke 22:37. At least twelve allusions have been accepted as evidence.[214] The following arguments arise from these discussions which reject the hypothesis that Jesus was identified with the suffering servant of Second Isaiah by the early church. The validity of the evidence is guaranteed by the fact that much of this material is quite ancient, going back into the earliest days of the Christian community.[215]

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[214]Gal. 1:15 # 49:1; Phil. 2:16 # 49:4; Rom. 8:34 # 53:10; Mk. 14:65, 15:15; Matt. 26:67, 27:26 # 50:6; Acts 2:33, 3:13, 5:31 # 52:13; Mk. 14:61, 15:5 # 53:7; Rom. 8:33f. # 50:8-9; Mk. 1:11, Matt. 3:17, 17:5, Acts 3:13ff. # 42:1; John 18:23, 19:3 # 50:6; I Pet. 2:22, 24, 25 # 53:4-6, 9, 12; Heb. 9:28 # 53:12.

[215]So Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 80-84.

First, with one exception, nowhere is the suffering of Jesus presented as having vicarious efficacy. We will explore in a moment the purposes of implementation, but let us here examine the one instance in which this note appears: the allusions to Isaiah 53:4-6, 9, 12 in I Peter 2:22, 24, 25. In the analysis above it was concluded that the motif of Jesus' suffering as having vicarious efficacy is clearly present, yet it is subordinate to the motif of humble submission to those in authority. The passage is not doctrinal but ethical. Moreover, the motif was derived from tradition, and was not the creation of the author of the epistle. However, the tradition was ascertained to be Hellenistic Christian, and apparently of relatively late origin.[216] This latter conclusion was based on both textual and exegetical evidence. The passage, therefore, was used in the tradition in a manner not unlike some Synoptic allusions, that is, to provide a rationale for the passion of Jesus. The motif of vicarious suffering is clearly secondary; the dominant theme is the humiliation of Jesus. This theme, as we shall see, is closely related--as both an antithesis and a complement--to the motif of the "Lordship" of Jesus the Risen One. In any event, this passage cannot be taken as evidence of the early usage of Isaiah 53, especially since it stands so alone in the New Testament material.

Secondly, not only does the motif of vicarious suffering not appear in the bulk of the scriptural citations and allusions but

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[216] Supra, pp. 390-393.

there is no unitary thematic application of the passages. One group is utilized to provide scriptural support for the emphasis on the "humiliation-exaltation" of Jesus the Risen One, an emphasis which we have studied elsewhere in detail, e.g., Phil. 2.[217] The second movement of this emphasis, of course, is the exaltation of Jesus the Risen One to the position of "Lord." Yet this exaltation was only meaningful against the background of complete humiliation. These passages are used to support the first part of this emphasis: Isaiah 53:7, 8 /// Acts 8:32-22,[218] Mk. 14:65, 15:15, Matt. 26:67, 27:26 # Isaiah 50:6,[219] John 18:22, 19:3 # Isaiah 50:6,[220] and the passage in I Peter discussed above. A second group is used with messianic connotations: Matt. 12:18-21 /// Isaiah 42:1-4 (in the pre-gospel tradition),[221] Mk. 1:11, Matt. 3:17, 17:5; Acts 3:13ff. # Isaiah 42:1,[222] and Acts 2:33, 3:13, 5:31 # Isaiah 52:13.[223] This group will be discussed more extensively below. A third consists of several proof texts, unrelated except by this element. Matthew uses Isaiah 53:7, 8 in 8:17 to explain Jesus' healing as fulfilled prophecy;[224] in 12:18-21 the evangelist uses traditional

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[217] Hooker, op. cit., pp. 159-163; Schweizer, op. cit., pp. 22-76.

[218] Supra, pp. 128-130. [219] Supra, pp. 305-306

[220] Supra, pp. 373f.

[221] Supra, pp. 58-59; this passage will be discussed in a fuller fashion below.

[222] Supra, pp. 282-289. [223] Supra, pp. 311-312.

[224] Supra, p. 122f.

material--Isaiah 42:1-4--for his own purpose, to explain Jesus' quietness as fulfilled prophecy.[225] Luke makes use of Isaiah 53:12 in 22:37, again presenting it as fulfilled prophecy.[226] The last, and the largest grouping, is even more variegated. This group finds its unity in being related in some way to the motif of Jesus as the Risen "Lord." Isaiah 49:8abc in II Cor. 6:2 seems to be addressed to the early Christians by their "Lord";[227] the possible allusion to Isaiah 50:8, 9 in Rom. 8:33f. may be of the same nature.[228] Isaiah 52:15, in Rom. 15:20, 21, provides the motivation from Paul's missionary work, and is addressed to him by the Risen Lord;[229] the same use is made of Isaiah 49:6, addressed to both Paul and Barnabas by the Risen Lord, in Acts 13:47.[230] Isaiah 53:1 is used in Romans 10:15, 16[231] and in the tradition behind John 12:37, 38[232] as prophetic anticipation of the lack of response to the proclamation of the "Lord" Jesus, to whom the passage was addressed; in John the passage is used by the evangelist to explain the lack of response to the mighty "signs" of Jesus as fulfillment of prophecy.[233] In Gal. 1:15, alluding to Isaiah 49:1,[234] and in Philippians 2:16, possibly alluding to Isaiah 49:4 (or 65:23 LXX),[235]

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[225] Supra, pp. 56-58.

[226] Supra, pp. 142-144

[227] Supra, pp. 72-75

[228] Supra, p. 234

[229] Supra, pp. 103-105

[230] Supra, pp. 64-68

[231] Supra, pp. 107-109, 118

[232] Supra, pp. 109f., 118

[233] Supra, pp. 109-117

[234] Supra, p. 230f.

[235] Supra, pp. 232-234

Paul applies passages to himself from the "servant songs." The possible allusion to the Hebrew of Isaiah 53:10 in Romans 8:34 is clearly related to the title of Jesus as "Lord."[236] Not only are these passages not used to interpret Jesus' passion as vicarious suffering, but the implementation of the passages serves various purposes and are associated with various motifs, and--in addition--are applied to various persons. This usage--as has been suggested above--[237] calls into question Dodd's hypothesis concerning "plot-texts." Could it be possible that the early Christians identified Jesus with the vicariously suffering servant of Isaiah 53 and still utilized these passages in these ways?

The Term "Servant" in the OT and the NT

We may now turn to a discussion of the concept "servant" in the New Testament. Two Greek words stand behind this word: δοῦλος and παῖς. The first is used quite frequently by the early Christians, e.g., Paul, to characterize their relationship to the Lord of the church. On numerous occasions he refers to himself as the "servant" (δοῦλος) of the Lord Jesus Christ. This relationship is quite clearly that of "slave" to "master," of the "one possessed" to the "one possessing." The central responsibility of the "servant" used in this way is that of obedience, i.e., living completely in accord with the will and purposes of the master. There is no reason to believe that this concept of "following Jesus" arose only after Easter; it seems to be the relationship

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[236] Supra, pp. 246-249

[237] Supra, pp. 520f.

of master-disciple intensified by the post-Resurrection experiences.[238] The idea of complete subservience is involved; the relationship, moreover, is not a voluntary arrangement, but one which was initiated by Jesus himself. The relationship was viewed as even less voluntary after the Resurrection, for Christ by his obedience and exaltation had done that which was necessary to reclaim all men. God's act in Christ, therefore, laid a certain claim on all men, a claim which they could either accept or reject, but a claim which they did not initiate.

Yet it is the second term, παῖς, that demands our attention, for in several passages it is specifically used of Jesus. It is imperative that this concept be examined, in order to arrive at an understanding of its place in the interpretation of the early church. We shall leave aside, for the moment, the question of its usage by Jesus himself. W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias have provided an excellent examination of this motif up until the time of Jesus. Zimmerli indicates that the term "servant" can be used "as the humble self-description of the pious in the presence of his God."[239] The term may connote an abiding sense of trust and gratitude for the God's grace; on the other hand, if it is associated with petition, it may connote a claim being made upon God.[240] In either case, absolute dependence and obedience on the part of the worshipper

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[238] See Schweizer, op. cit., pp. 11-21, 77-92.

[239] W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, op. cit., pp. 9-78; specific citation is from p. 13.

[240] Zimmerli, op. cit., pp. 13-16

is implied. The term, in this sense, could be used either of an individual worshipper or of a worshipping group;[241] in somewhat the same way the term could be used of Israel as a people.[242] This latter usage was continued and expanded by Second Isaiah,[243] a development of thought reviewed above.[244] Jeremias indicates that this usage was continued in the writings arising from late Judaism, immediately preceding the life of Christ.[245] Although the term is not used by Jesus, it is not impossible that for the early church Jesus of Nazareth embodied this meaning of the term, for the Gospel narratives, the writings of Paul (e.g., Phil. 2), I Peter, Hebrews, and many of the other New Testament writings recognize that Jesus was completely and absolutely obedient to God's will, and dependent upon Him. It is possible that this is the background of Mark 10:45, and that the early church considered its life as the attempt to continue the obedience of Christ.

The term "servant" is used predominantly in the Old Testament, however, especially for distinguished figures who were outstanding instruments of God.

> Yahweh made contact with his people Israel in history, and held them to history as the place where he is near and where responsible decision is made. Hence it is not surprising that O. T. faith again and again sees in history figures whom it recognizes pre-eminently as

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[241] Ibid., p. 16.

[242] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[243] Idem.

[244] Supra, pp. 538-543.

[245] Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 45-47.

servants of Yahweh.[246]

We may seek to review the usage of this term in reference to particular groups, and then inquire as to whether the OT usage has influenced the interpretative work of the New Testament writers. The first to be termed "servants of Yahweh" in this sense are the patriarchs. Zimmerli cites the usage of the term in reference to Abraham in Gen. 26:24, and the term "servant of Yahweh" in reference to Isaac in Gen. 24:14.[247] "The patriarchs are pledges of the divine will to save. Yahweh promises blessing to Isaac for the sake of Abraham his servant."[248] This usage is also present in the literature of late Judaism.[249] Are there indications of this usage in the New Testament? A number of reminiscences concerning the relationship between Christ and the patriarchs have been noted above.[250] In Acts 3, where Jesus is referred to as God's "servant," the acts of God in Christ Jesus is regarded as the fulfillment of the promises to the fathers, with Abraham specifically mentioned. Is this related to the reminiscences noted elsewhere? Is it related to the usage of the term "servant" in reference to Jesus?

Secondly, Zimmerli indicates that the term "servant" was applied far more meaningfully to the person of Moses.

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[246] Zimmerli, ibid., p. 18

[247] Ibid., p. 19

[248] Idem.

[249] Jeremias, ibid., pp. 48-49

[250] E.g., supra, pp. 147, 153, 285f.

> In Num. 12:7f. Moses is differentiated by a divine explanation from those prophets who know God only in a dream or vision. 'Not so is my servant, Moses, who is faithful in all mine house. With him I speak mouth to mouth . . .wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?' Moses is the vizier, the true steward of Yahweh. . . . Moses is only Yahweh's servant. But in what he powerfully accomplished Yahweh was so obviously present that the people's responsive faith submits to Moses and to Yahweh in him. An essential feature of the biblical revelation comes out here. God's history is not transcendental heavenly history. It stoops to earth and appoints men with their deeds and words as its signs. Moses, Yahweh's servant, embodies in his activity such a part of divine history. Obedience or disobedience to his word is decisive for men's attitude to Yahweh. Moses is much more emphatically than the patriarchs an active servant-figure. He shapes the law (Josh. 1.2,7; II Kings 18.12; Mal. 4.4, etc.), orders particular matters with regard to the possession of the land (Josh. 1.13, 15; 8.31), prescribes cultic matters (II Chron. 1.3; 24.6), and promises coming peace in the land (I Kings 8.53, 56). But behind it all stands the election of Yahweh who appoints to him and Aaron their service.[251]

This close identification of Moses as God's "servant" continues into late Judaism, for Jeremias states flatly that the "title of honour is firmly established only for Moses."[252] Is there a relationship between Moses as Yahweh's "servant" and Jesus as Yahweh's "servant?" In answer, we may say firmly, "yes." In Peter's speech in Acts 3, he says,

> Moses said, 'The Lord God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up. You shall listen to him in whatever he tells you. And it shall be that every soul that does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed from the people.' . . .God, having raised up his servant, sent him to you first . . . [underlining mine] [253]

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[251] Zimmerli, op. cit., pp. 19-20

[252] Jeremias, op. cit., p. 48 [253] Acts 3:22-23, 26

The recognition of Jesus as the "prophet like unto Moses " and perhaps the "one greater than Moses" is further demonstrated 1) by the allusion in the Transfiguration accounts, in the words "Hear him," to Deut. 18:15, 19, the same passage quoted here by Peter, 2) by the numerous authoritative statements concerning the Torah in the Synoptics, and by cultic instructions,[254] 3) by the obviously inferior position of Moses in the Transfiguration narrative, 4) by the implications of the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew, 5) by the expectation of the "prophet" in John 1, and 6) by the contrast between Moses and Jesus in Hebrews 3. Indeed, some of these passages indicate a rejection of this motif; yet this rejection, arising from the comprehension of the superior position of Jesus to Moses, had as its basis the primitive association of Yahweh's "servant" Jesus with "his servant Moses."

Significantly, the association between Jesus and Moses was based not only upon personal characteristics but also upon the fact that both were "prophets." This is the third group of distinguished persons to which the term "servant" was applied, particularly in the Deuteronomic writing of history, where the prophet "gains an almost instrumental significance"; in the same circles "the usual formula of '"my" ("thy," "his") servants the prophets' has crystallized into a cliche."[255] The usage of the formula con-

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[254] E.g., Mark 1:44ff. and parallels; Mark 7:10ff.; Mark 10:2ff.; and Matt. 15:10ff. and Markan parallel.

[255] Zimmerli, op. cit., p. 22

tinues into the period of late Judaism.[256] and even on into late NT literature.[257] As we shall examine further below, the role of Jesus himself was at least that of a "prophet"; it is to be expected that the term "servant," used so emphatically of the prophets in the scripture, would be used in reference to Jesus. This suggestion is strongly supported by the words of the men on the way to Emmaus in Luke 24:19, ". . .Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people, . . ."

By far the most significant usage of this term "servant" remains: the association of the term with the king, especially God's "servant David." Again it is the Deuteronomic history which frequently uses the title in reference to David. "David, in virtue of a special bond of grace, is the pre-eminent king of the holy people."[258] The usage continues in the writings arising from the late Jewish period.[259] Even more significantly, and perhaps associated with this usage, the term appears in both OT and inter-testamental writings as a designation of the Messiah.[260] The usage is not present in rabbinic literature, probably due to anti-Christian polemic.[261] To account for the Messianic usage of this

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[256]Jeremias, op. cit., p. 46 [257]Revelations 10:7

[258]Zimmerli, op. cit., p. 20 [259]Jeremias, op. cit., p. 48

[260]Ezek. 34:23f., 37:24f., Zech. 3:8, II Esd. 7:28, 13:32, 37, 52, 7:29, Syr. Bar. 70:9, Targ. Isa. 42:1, 43:10, 52:13, Targ. Zech. 3:8, Targ. Ezek. 34:23f., 37:24f.

[261]This conclusion, and the preceding citations, are taken from Jeremias, ibid., 49-50, 75.

designation is impossible unless it is in some way related to the usage with reference to David. Thus in late Judaism we have evidence of the development of this designation in the light of Messianism. This is extremely important, for in Acts 4:24-30 the phrase "thy holy servant Jesus" is directly related to "David, thy servant." Thus we are dealing here with a developed, cultic messianic designation. The dominant concept is that of Jesus as the Christ, as is clearly indicated by the usage of Psalm 2:1-2 in Acts 4:25, 26. Only in one other passage is to be found the phrase "his servant David": Luke 1:69. This usage falls within the prophecy of Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist. Is it possible that this song--and the birth narratives of Luke--may be derived from the same circles of Christian interpretation as Acts 3 and 4? It seems likely, but whether this is accepted or not, it is a striking fact that the birth narratives of Luke are based on the conviction that Jesus is the Christ. At no place does the material use the term "Lord" in reference to Jesus; unlike the rest of the material in Luke--and to some extent in Acts--the title "Lord" is used explicitly[262] in the hymnic sections[263] as the title of Yahweh. Even more significant, the Christological interest is explicit. In Gabriel's address to Mary, he says,

> He will be great, and will be called the Son of the

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[262]Luke 1:16, 1:32, 1:68

[263]In 1:16, 17, 76, passages referring to John the Baptist, there is some evidence of the usage of the title for Jesus.

Most High;
and the Lord God will give to him the throne of
his father David,
and he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever;
and of his kingdom there will be no end.[264]

The words "the throne of his father David," "reign," and "kingdom" make it pellucid that here we have material derived from circles concerned with the motif of Jesus as the Christ, although already he is more than the son of David.[265] The same theme is present elsewhere in the hymns of the Lukan birth-narratives.

It may therefore be concluded that in Acts 3 and 4 the designation "his holy servant Jesus" is a title which related Jesus to the Messiah, the prophets, Moses, the patriarchs, and perhaps even the pious.

Specific Usage of Is. 52:13ff. and 42:1ff.

In what way are the "servant songs" of Second Isaiah related to this motif? Let us first discuss the usage of Isaiah 52:13ff., continuing our discussion initiated above.[266] In this paper, we have discussed twenty-two possible allusions to Isaiah 52:13-53:12. Of these twenty-two allusions nine have been rejected,[267] eight have been considered possible,[268] and five have been considered

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[264] Luke 1:32-33

[265] Cf. 1:32, 35

[266] Supra, p. 590

[267] Philippians 2:9 # 52:13; Mk. 10:45, 14:24 # 53:10-12; Luke 11:21, 22 # 53:23; Luke 23:34 # 53:12; John 1:45 # 53:2; John 1:29, I John 3:5 # 53:4, 7; I Tim. 2:6, Titus 2:14 # 53:11, 12; Rev. 5:6, 12, 13:8 # 53:7; Rev. 14:5 # 53:9.

[268] Philippians 2:7 # 53:3,11,12; I Cor. 15:3 # 53:8ff.; Rom. 4:25 # 53:4,5,12; Rom. 5:1 # 53:5; Rom. 8:3 # 53:10; Rom. 8:34 # 53:10; Mk. 9:12 # 53:3; John 12:32 # 52:13.

likely or probable.[269] These allusions are in addition to the citations already reviewed. It is the third group of allusions that are instructive. Acts 2:33, 3:13, 5:31 # Isaiah 52:13 has been considered likely, but the allusion is used to support the exaltation of Jesus, a motif associated with his "lordship"; it has nothing to do with vicarious suffering. An allusion to Isaiah 53:7 is likely in Mark 14:61, 15:5, concerning the "silence" of Jesus at his trial, but again this has nothing to do with vicarious suffering; apparently the passage is considered to be a prophecy which finds fulfillment in the historical event. The designation "righteous one" in Luke 23:47, Acts 3:14, 7:52 and 22:14 has been considered to be an allusion to the same designation in Isaiah 53:11, where it is closely associated with the term "servant," but it does not have the connotation of vicarious suffering. I Peter 2:22, 24-25 has been discussed above; this passage does contain the note of vicarious suffering, but significantly the dominant motif is that of patience in the midst of humiliation. Hebrews 9:28 carries a probable allusion to 53:12, but the allusion is dependent upon the LXX translation, and is subordinated to the motif of Jesus as the High Priest, who both offers and is himself the sacrifice. Significantly, the two definite implementations of the vicarious servant motif--Hebrews 9:28 and I Peter 2:22ff.--have all the marks of non-primitive, Hellenistic interpretation; our con-

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[269] Acts 2:33, 3:13, 5:31 # 52:13; Mk. 14:61, 15:5 # 53:7; Luke 23:47, Acts 3:14, 7:52, 22:14 # 53:11; I Pet. 2:22, 24, 25 # 53:4-6, 9, 12; Heb. 9:28 # 53:12(LXX).

clusions concerning the usage of Isaiah 53:12 in Luke 23:34 support this observation.[270] The only other allusion to passages in the other "servant songs"-excluding 42:1ff.--is found in Mark 14:65, 15:15, Matt. 26:67, 27:26 (# 50:6),[271] where the terminology is used not in reference to the suffering of Jesus but to the attitude of Jesus toward suffering. In other words, the allusions to the "servant songs" of Second Isaiah indicate that in all instances the Old Testament material was used to support motifs which had nothing to do with vicarious suffering.

The decisive passage from Second Isaiah, which we must now discuss, is Isaiah 42:1ff., for not only is it directly cited in Matthew but it also underlies the Baptismal formulae. It would be well if first we would summarize its pre-Christian use.

Jeremias has demonstrated that within the interpretation of Palestinian Judaism Isaiah 42:1ff. was, during the first century B. C. and the first century A. D., interpreted messianically. Unlike 52:13-53:12, the LXX does not reflect a messianic understanding of 42:1ff. However, Jeremias finds a messianic connotation in the usage of 42:1ff. in Ecclesiasticus,[272] Visionary Discourses of the Ethiopian Enoch (including a detailed messianic understanding of 42:1-7),[273] Targum Isaiah,[274] and among the Rabbis.[275] Concerning the latter, Jeremias says, "As for Isa. 42:1ff., it is

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[270] Supra, pp. 319-321

[271] Supra, pp. 303-306

[272] Op. cit., p. 57

[273] Ibid., p. 58-60

[274] Ibid., pp. 66-67

[275] Ibid., p. 71

essential to note that only the messianic interpretation is found in rabbinic literature."[276] Because of the strong anti-Christian polemic, Jeremias notes, "As far as possible, however, Isa. 42:1ff. and 53 are not used at all."[277] Thus it may be stated conclusively, "For Isa. 42.1 ff. and 52.13 ff. messianic interpretation is constant from pre-Christian times."[278]

It will be maintained here that the usage of Isaiah 42:1ff. within the Christian tradition is a continuation of this messianic application, although it is a messianic application reinterpreted in the light of the death/resurrection of Jesus the Christ. Significantly, Isaiah 42:1 begins, "behold, my servant (ὁ παῖς μου);" the designation "servant" in this passage would appear to be associated, on the basis of our discussion above of the general usage of the term in the Acts, with the motif of the Messiah. In our discussion, we previously examined the meaning of this term in the Old Testament tradition and discussed the general New Testament usage in that light. At this point, we may indicate two specific Old Testament units which seem to support the contention that even in Old Testament times the term "servant" had acquired messianic connotations in some circles. These passages are I Chronicles 17:4-27 and II Chronicles 6:15-17, 42. The first of these units relates the story of the establishment of the Davidic covenant, an event of tremendous significance for messianic thought. The second is a portion of

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[276] Idem.

[277] Ibid., p. 75

[278] Ibid., p. 77

Solomon's speech at the time of the dedication of the Temple, in which repeatedly Solomon uses the phrase "thy servant David" of his father and occasionally of himself as David's heir. In both of these units the term "servant" is used in reference to David; this term rarely appears in adjoining portions. It is true that these portions are almost identical with their parallel passages, but at least one modification of the prototype indicates a definite messianic interest.[279] The most significant addition, however, to the material derived from Samuel/Kings are the words found in II Chronicles 6:42, words attributed directly to the editor of Chronicles:[280]

> O Lord God, do not turn away the face of thy anointed one (MT:מְשִׁיחֶךָ; LXX:τοῦ χριστοῦ σου)!
> Remember thy steadfast love for David (MT: לְחַסְדֵי דָוִיד; LXX:τὰ ἐλέη Δαυίδ) thy servant (MT: עַבְדֶּךָ; LXX:τοῦ δούλου σου).

This statement obviously could have strong messianic connotations and will prove extremely significant in our comments below. It would appear, therefore, that these passages from I and II Chronicles (with parallels in II Samuel and I Kings) could take

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[279]The phrase, "I will raise up your son after you, who shall come forth from your body" in II Samuel 7:12 appears as "I will raise up your offspring after you, one of your own sons," (I Chronicle 17:11), a less specific statement than the former. Notice also the omission in the latter source of the phrase found in II Samuel 7:14: "When he commits iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, with the stripes of the sons of men; . . ."

[280]So W. A. L. Elmslie, "Exegesis" to "The First and Second Books of Chronicles," The Interpreter's Bible, G. A. Buttrick, Nolan B. Harmon, et. al., editors, Vol. III (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), p. 461.

on---and perhaps when written already possessed---messianic overtones; the same may perhaps be true of other passages dealing with David.

If the translation of Isaiah 42:1ff. which we find in Matthew's gospel is related to these passages, reflections of this association should be present. The following observations, derived from our conclusions above, may be listed. One: Jeremias rightly maintains that the term at no time was a title for the Messiah; he is wrong when he states that it never stands alone, for it does stand alone in the portentuous passage dealing with the establishment of the Davidic covenant, I Chronicles 17:4-27 (II Samuel 7:4-29).[281] The usage in this passage is identical with the usage of the designation in Acts in reference to Jesus. We may suspect some relationship between the passages. Two: the usage of αἱρετίζω in the phrase "whom I have chosen" (Matt. 12:18 /// Isaiah 42:1) occurs only here in the New Testament. It is used four times of David and his son Solomon in I Chronicles 28:4,6,10, and 29:1. In the verse cited second it is part of the extremely significant phrase, which expresses the heart of the Davidic covenant, "I have chosen him to be my son (υἱός), and I will be his father." We have noted above how the title ὁ υἱός is the one fixed element in the Baptismal and Transfiguration formulae.[282] Three: although the designation ὁ ἀγαπητός seems to be associated with the Isaac

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[281] Supra, p. 288

[282] Supra, p. 284; cf. also I Chronicles 17:13

motif,[283] the verbal root appears in David's mouth in I Chronicle 17:17, where David is speaking of Yahweh's relationship to him. In Luke's account of the transfiguration (9:35), we find a form of the verb ἐκλέγω. On one hand, this verb-absent in the version of Isaiah 42:1 in Matthew--is the rendering of the LXX; it is also the correlative verb to αἱρετίζω in I Chronicles 28:4,5. Four: the verb εὐδοκέω, found in "Matthew's" version of Isaiah 42:1 and in the Baptismal and Transfiguration formulae in all sources, is used in the LXX of II Samuel 22:20 to denote the delight of Yahweh in David. In the parallel text (Psalm 18:20), the Hebrew is translated ἠθέλησεν; the identical form is used by David in I Chronicles 28:4 in the phrase, "and among my father's sons he took pleasure in me to make me king over all Israel." Conceivably it could be argued that these four observations are nothing but linguistic coincidence, and that they do not demonstrate a relationship between the New Testament version found in Matthew and these units in the Old Testament. From this viewpoint, it is possible that the New Testament writers did not even use these passages as a source. The conclusive evidence of the usage of these Old Testament passages is yet to be presented. On general grounds, the I Chronicle unit could be argued for on the basis of its indispensable contribution to the messianic motif, the Messiah son of David. The second unit is clearly a part of the early Christian interpretative

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[283] Supra, pp. 147, 151, 285f.

tradition. Above,[284] we have conducted an extensive examination of the usage of Isaiah 55:3 in Acts 13:34. At that place, it was concluded that the extant relationship between Psalm 16 and Isaiah 55:3 was the work of Luke or his community carried out in a Hellenistic milieu. It was also concluded, however, that the usage of Isaiah 55:3 in reference to the Davidic messianic motif was the work of the early Palestinian community, working with the Hebrew; Luke or his community was heir to this interpretative tradition, and--working for a Hellenistic audience--used this text for his own purposes. In Isaiah 55:3, as it appears in Acts 13:34, the problematic phrase--in the extant tradition--is τὰ ὅσια Δαυίδ (so LXX; MT: חַסְדֵי דָוִד). Although problematic in the extant context, it has been demonstrated that on the basis of the Hebrew it played a significant part in the development of the messianic motif in the early Christian church. The significant and relevant point for our study is this: the same phrase appears in II Chronicles 7:42, where it is explicitly associated with both the designation "thy servant" in reference to David and the title "Messiah." It seems highly probable, on the basis of these observations, that Isaiah 55:3 in the early Christian community was related to II Chronicles 7:42, and that this unit--along with the unit dealing with the establishment of the Davidic covenant--was implemented in the messianic interpretation of the early

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[284] Supra, pp. 158-168; the conclusions presented at this point resulted from the previous analysis.

church.

Significantly, the proposed messianic interpretation of Isaiah 42:1-4, as we find it in Matthew 12:18ff., receives confirmation from the usage of this material in the gospel. We have already observed, in our discussion of this unit above,[285] that Matthew is implementing a traditional unit for his own purpose, and that the version preserved in Matthew goes far back into the interpretative process of the early church. In addition, it has been noted that this passage serves as a summary Schilderung, similar to the role which Isaiah 61:1ff. plays in the Lukan tradition. Other than the portions analysed above, which are definitely Christological in connotation, we may note two others: the establishment of the kingdom and the endowment with the Spirit. Both of these are directly related to messianic belief and hope, and indicate definitely that this passage was an Old Testament passage of messianic import.

We may now complete our discussion with a brief statement concerning the relationship between Isaiah 42:1 and the Baptismal/Transfiguration formulae. No doubt some relationship exists between these two groups of material. Against scholarly consensus, Jeremias maintains that there is no reference in the Baptismal/Transfiguration formulae to Psalm 2:7; the title "my son," according to Jeremias, represents a clarification of meaning--in Hellenistic groups--of the designation παῖς.[286] From this viewpoint, the Lukan variant reading--

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[285] Supra, pp. 50-61

[286] Op. cit., p. 81

identical with Psalm 2:7--would be an adjustment to that material. On the other hand, once it is recognized that Isaiah 42:1-4, in the circle of faith behind Matthew's gospel, was interpreted messianically, an alternative arises. The alternative is this: the title "son" arose under the interpretative influence of the passages in I and II Chronicles, in both of which the covenant-affirmation is stated by Yahweh in reference to the "son of David": "I will be his father, and he shall be my son" (I Chronicles 17:13; II Samuel 7:14). Whatever may be our decision concerning the source of this designation, we may be sure that it is directly related to the motif of the Messiah son of David. Even if derived from Isaiah 42:1, as Jeremias maintains, from the earliest times it signified the Davidic Messiah, not the suffering servant of the Lord. Isaiah 42:1-4, like other passages found in so-called "servant-songs," has been subordinated to more pervasive and dominant motifs. Moreover, this usage may be decerned in at least four extremely important sources: 1) the tradition behind Matthew, as evidenced by (a) the citation in 12:18ff. and (b) the Baptismal and Transfiguration formulae; 2) the tradition behind Mark, as demonstrated by the Baptismal and Transfiguration formulae; 3) the tradition behind Luke, as indicated by (a) the Christological motif present in the hymnic portions of the birth narratives, (b) the Baptismal and Transfiguration formulae, (c) the usage of "servant" in Acts 3 and 4, and (d) the implementation of Isaiah 55:3 in Acts 13:34; and 4) the tradition behind II Peter, as suggested by the reference to the Transfiguration formula in II Peter 1:17. To these may possibly be added reflection in Paul, e.g.,

Romans 1:1-4, the usage of "son" in the Fourth Gospel, and the definite Christological interest of Hebrews.[287]

Summary Discussion

We may say that the cultic use of the designation παῖς, as we find it in Acts 3 and 4, and the specific usage and connotation of the designation ὁ παῖς μου, as we find it in the version of Isaiah 42:1ff. found in Matthew 12:18ff., had messianic significance. In the light of the widespread usage of this designation in ancient sources of the New Testament material, it may be suggested that this usage of παῖς represents one of the earliest--if not the earliest--Christological formulations of the primitive Palestinian church. Equally significant is the absence of all overtones related to the motif of the vicariously suffering servant of Second Isaiah. The evidence indicates a complete subordination of this material--Isaiah 42:1ff. especially and perhaps also portions of Isaiah 53--to the motif of the Davidic Messiah. Thus Cadbury is mistaken when he considers "servant" in Acts to be merely a designation of honor, but he is right when he disassociates it from Isaiah 53.[288] Jeremias, after an admirable survey of the usage of the general term "servant" and of the specific passages Isaiah 42:1ff. and Isaiah 52:13ff. in

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[287]Simon Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Amsterdam: Wed. G. Van Soest N.V., 1961), pp. 136-137.

[288]Henry J. Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts," in The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. V: Additional Notes to the Commentary, ed. by Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933), p. 367.

a messianic sense, comes exceedingly close to seeing the messianic connotations of this designation. He is right in maintaining that "the title παῖς θεοῦ was at no time on Gentile Christian territory an accepted designation of the Messiah," and--although he cites the Gentile messianic titles χριστός and υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ in the same sentence--he fails to suggest that παῖς may have been the Palestinian equivalent.[289] He cites in a footnote[290] von Harnack's consideration whether the formula διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ is an imitation of διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου and yet he does not seem to consider the suggestion to be a possibility. He rejects Cadbury's conclusion concerning the designation as one of honor, "for the primitive church from the very first regarded Jesus as the Messiah."[291] Yet he fails to relate the designation παῖς and his own statement, a relationship which we have demonstrated. Instead, Jeremias very quickly, on the erroneous grounds that the usage in Acts is unparalleled in the Old Testament, shifts to the position that the designation is "meant from the start to characterize him as the servant of the Lord prophesied in Isaiah 42 and 53," in spite of the information which he developed concerning the pre-Christian usage of these passages. To what may be attributed this mistake? Many scholars have made it--it would seem--because of devotional interests, but Jeremias should not be accused of this. The mistake lies in his methodology: on pages 88-94 he cites passages in the New Testament which on first

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[289] Jeremias, op. cit., p. 84 [290] Idem, note 3
[291] Ibid., p. 86

sight would support the implementation of the motif of the vicariously suffering servant. We have considered these passages above; in a few instances the allusion was considered possible; in only two instances--both late--was the suffering servant motif definitely present; in the remainder the allusion was rejected or definitely subordinated--as were all the citations--to more dominant motifs: those of Jesus as the Messiah and Jesus as the Lord. Jeremias' mistake, is the same as Dodd's discussed above:[292] the application of the Old Testament passages was not considered in the light of the specific New Testament context. Jeremias to the contrary, Isaiah 42:1ff. and 52:13ff. were not used to explain Jesus as the vicariously suffering servant but to support and enrich the interpretation of Jesus as the true Messiah.

We are now in a position to seek to answer the question: why did the early Christians not make use of the motif of the vicariously suffering servant of Second Isaiah? We may agree with Morna Hooker, in her contention that in Jewish interpretation there was no such figure as "the servant of the Lord" in Second Isaiah;[293] yet certainly the early Christian communities were sufficiently creative to use this material in reference to Jesus as the "suffering servant" of Isaiah 53. C. F. D. Moule is right when he levies the criticism that Miss Hooker has not really explained the paucity of references to Isaiah 53. Moule then proceeds to hint--unknowingly perhaps--at the real reason

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[292] Supra, pp. 520-521

[293] Hooker, op. cit., pp. 156-157

with the question: was it precluded by some apologetic circumstance unknown to us?[294] This we have demonstrated to be the answer: Second Isaiah was utilized to elaborate the two great motifs of early Christian interpretation, on one hand the motif of Jesus as the Christ, and on the other hand, the motif of Jesus as the Lord. It was possible for portions of Isaiah 53 and for the beginning verses of Isaiah 42 to be utilized for the former motif, for the Messiah--even a suffering Messiah--was still a "servant" of Yahweh. With the elaboration and dominance of the concept of Jesus as the "Lord"--the "Lord" even in Second Isaiah--42:1ff. and especially 53 lost their meaning, for how could Jesus be both the "servant" and the "Lord" of 53:1,6,10?

Care should be exercised, also, that the motif of Jesus as the Christ and the motif of Jesus as the Lord are not separated: the former does not necessarily belong to the Jewish Christians and the latter to the Greek Christians. Both motifs are rooted in the extremely early application of Psalm 110, in which both are present. By virtue of the mighty act of God in the Resurrection, Jesus, the Risen One, is both Lord and Christ (Act 2:36). The development of these motifs may have proceeded at different speeds and in different circles, e.g., the Hebraic and Hellenic groups within the community at Jerusalem (Acts 6:1). Certainly, the motif of the Messiahship of Jesus may have been more meaningful

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[294] C. F. D. Moule, Theology, Vm. LXII (No. 472, Oct. '59), p. 430.

and appropriate in proclaiming the gospel to the Hebrews, just as the Lordship of Jesus may have been relevant to the Hellenists. These cultural affinities cannot be denied. Yet the evidence which we have accumulated indicates that both motifs arose out of the earliest Palestinian community, and received a measure of development at that time. Portions of Second Isaiah, i.e., 55:3, 42:1-4, and perhaps 52:13, were useful in developing the messianic motif, but Second Isaiah as a whole became increasingly valuable in the elaboration of the motif of Lordship. We have already explored that significance above, and--in the case of John--have perceived the further growth of this interpretative motif. The motif of Lordship was rooted in Psalm 110; it was supplemented at an extremely early stage by the implementation of Isaiah 45:11c,23, and it flourished with the application of numerous passages from Isaiah 40-66 in which the title "Lord" came to signify the Risen One.

D. ISAIAH 40-66 IN THE THOUGHT OF JESUS

The question still remains, "Did Jesus understand his own mission and coming death in terms of the vicariously suffering servant of the Lord of Second Isaiah?" Jeremias attempts to present a vigorous argument for an affirmative answer, an argument that is quite impressive until examined closely. He poses the question, and immediately answers, "The gospels say so."[295] After listing the relevant gospel passages, he then admits that many of these passages

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[295] Op. cit., p. 98

are wholly or in part the work of the church, noting especially the silence of Jesus before his judges and the secondary tendency within the predictions of the passion to assume concrete features and to become assimilated to the actual course of history.[296] He maintains that some observations forbid us to declare spurious the whole of the references of Jesus relating him to the "servant" concept of Second Isaiah.[297] The first group of observations are intended to demonstrate the strong historical probability that Jesus reckoned with the possibility of a violent death: 1) the whole situation compelled him to recognize it, especially the charges of blasphemy (Mark 2:7 and parallels; John 10:33-36, cf. 5:18) and Sabbath-breaking (Mark 2:23-3:7a); 2) the historical facts, i.e., that the prophets were persecuted, indicated the possibility of a violent death;[298] and 3) unfulfilled prophecies of Jesus concerning his passion--that he would be stoned (Matt. 23:37 parallel) as a false prophet (Luke 13:33), buried as a criminal (Mark 14:8 parallel), and that his disciples would share his passion (Mark 10:32-40 parallel, Luke 14:25-33)--give evidence of this awareness on the part of Jesus.[299] Jeremias is here absolutely right in his contention that Jesus was aware of his approaching passion; no evidence has yet been adduced to show that this passion was understood in terms of Isaiah 52:13-53:12.

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[296] Ibid., pp. 99-100

[297] Ibid., p. 100

[298] See below

[299] These observations are found in work cited, pp. 100-101.

Jeremias then maintains that "the assertion of the sources that Jesus found in Isa. 53 the clue to the necessity and meaning of his passion can also claim strong historical probability,"[300] in spite of the fact that Jeremias himself has strong reservations concerning the authenticity of the sources. Each argument which Jeremias presents may now be examined. First, he states that "in general terms it may be pointed out . . .that Isa. 40 ff. possessed great significance for Jesus' consciousness of exalted mission."[301] He cites, in support, Matthew 11:5 and parallel, Matthew 5:3f, Mark 11:17, Luke 4:18ff. He goes on to say, "The allusions to Isa. 53 thus fit into the framework of his preaching and use of scripture."[302] Jeremias' statement is far too general; in addition, he clearly has perpetrated a non sequitur. Jesus makes use of only one primary scriptural source: Isaiah 61:1-2a; this primary source is strengthened by Isaiah 57:15 in Matthew 5:3 and parallel. In Mark 11:17 and parallels he utilizes Isaiah 56:7d. These verses are of extreme significance, and will be discussed below; however, they are not contextual interpretations, and it is highly questionable that--because Jesus uses these restricted verses--the whole of Isaiah 40ff. is in mind. Specifically, this usage does not support the contention that Isaiah 53 was in the mind of Jesus. Jeremias then demonstrates that some of these

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[300] Ibid., p. 102

[301] Idem.

[302] Idem.

statements are of ancient date, with which we might readily agree. The date of the statements might be quite ancient, but this hardly establishes their meaning. We may now examine his arguments for an ancient date in detail. We may agree on the early date of Mark 9:12, 9:31, 10:45, 14:8,24, and Luke 23:34, although doubts are justifiable for John 10:11,15,17f. We may also agree that the general terms of the prediction and the absence of any reference to Easter speak for Mark 9:12b, Luke 9:44, 12:50, 13:31f., and 17:25. In addition, the contextual integration of Mark 8:31, Mark 14:8, and Mark 9:12b, gives evidence of authenticity, even though we have rejected Luke 22:37 (/// Isa. 53:12) as an integral part of its context.[303] These passages deal with the certainty of suffering. How do they prove that Isaiah 53 was in Jesus' mind, concerning the meaning of his suffering? The final argument by Jeremias is of decisive importance, as he himself states, i.e., that the phrase ὑπὲρ πολλῶν in Mark 14:24 and parallels is a definite allusion to Isa. 53, that it is present in both Pauline thought--dating from about 40 A. D.--and the Markan tradition, and that the Markan usage takes us back into the thirties, into "the bedrock of the tradition."[304] The key to this argument is that (a) the phrase is a definitive reference to Isaiah 53, and (b) both Markan and Pauline usage are identical. It has been demonstrated above--against these contentions--that (b) in the Synoptics the term "many" does not have a technical meaning whereas

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[303] Supra, pp. 141f., 144

[304] Op. cit., pp. 104

in Paul it does,[305] and (a) that the technical meaning in Paul is related not to Isaiah 53 but to the Adam typology.[306] Thus at each point Jeremias' a priori assumption is visible; Isaiah 53--and the motif of the vicariously suffering servant--is not present. No clear usage of this motif is present in the gospel material. Jeremias is aware of this, and seeks to explain it with the comment: "Jesus only allowed himself to be known as the servant in his esoteric and not in his public preaching."[307] If Jesus allowed himself to be known esoterically as the suffering servant, why then did not the early Christian writers make extensive use of this motif? Jesus explicitly said, "What I tell you in the dark, utter in the light; and what you hear whispered, proclaim upon the housetops" (Matt. 10:27 // Luke 8:17). The early Christian writers thought it not improper to include their own interpretations of Jesus, which they believed were arrived at under the influence of the Spirit. Why would they hesitate to use an explanation which Jesus himself taught esoterically to the disciples, who provided the ultimate source of interpretation? The paucity--or absence--of references in the gospel to the vicariously suffering servant of Isaiah may be explained only by the hypothesis that Jesus did not make use of this motif.

Two questions must be answered if this conclusion is to be acceptable. One: "Why did Jesus not use this motif?" Two: "How

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[305] Supra, pp. 314-316

[306] Supra, pp. 242-243

[307] Op. cit., p. 104

did Jesus understand his suffering?" The answer to the first may be quite brief. Isaiah 52:13ff., as demonstrated by Jeremias, was in pre-Christian times consistently interpreted messianically in Palestinian Judaism. Moreover, it was messianism--if the Targum Isaiah is any indication--which tended to be nationalistic and sectarian. Leaving aside the question whether Jesus considered himself to be the Messiah, it is definite that he did not consider himself to be this type of a Messiah. It would have taken a radical break with tradition for Jesus to interpret Isaiah 53 of his own person and mission, a break which inevitably would have been reflected with clarity in the interpretative tradition of the early church. Yet we see no such reflection. It is probable, therefore, that Jesus did not question the traditional messianic interpretation of Isaiah 52:12ff.; the diverse usage by the early church of the "servant songs" supports this contention, for would they have reversed the personal interpretation of Isaiah 53 that Jesus himself had initiated?

The second question is far too difficult to solve completely here; rather, only some suggestions as to a possible answer will be made. Since there are no indications that the motif of the vicariously suffering servant of Second Isaiah is involved, the full consideration of the question is not within the scope of this paper. This question has not received the attention that it deserves, since most scholars maintain that Isaiah 53 did play a direct part in the meaning which Jesus found in his suffering. On the other hand, several scholars have come to the conclusion that

the meaning which Jesus found in his passion was derived from the tradition, several centuries old, of prophetic martyrdom. Jeremias indicates the wider context of this tradition, when he speaks of the atoning power of death:

> This idea gains ground extraordinarly in late Judaism. The execution has atoning effect if the criminal has made the expiatory vow ('May my death expiate all my sins' see n. 475); every dying person is entreated to say this expiatory vow. Furthermore, late Judaism from pre-Christian times realizes the vicarious expiatory power inherent in the death of the high priest, of martyrs, of the righteous, of the patriarchs, of innocent children.[308]

Elsewhere Jeremias cites rabbinic sources[309] to support this observation of the belief in the expiatory power of death, and notes that Jesus, like the Maccabaean martyrs, reverses the effects of his death; since he was guiltless, he invokes the expiatory power on behalf of his tormentors.[310] Thus, for his persecutors, Jesus' death becomes vicarious in effect. Eduard Schweizer has suggested that Jesus' suffering is to be regarded within the context of the motif of the suffering righteous, suffering which had expiatory effect.[311] Morna Hooker adopts the same basic position, but brings the point to bear on the Son of Man concept in Daniel, using this title as the determinative motif for Jesus.[312] The most likely specific point of reference, however, seems to be the tradition of the martyr-prophets. In a valuable article, Franklin W. Young draws

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[308] Ibid., p. 76

[309] Ibid., p. 102

[310] Idem.

[311] Op. cit., pp. 32-41, 25-26

[312] Hooker, op. cit., pp. 140-146

at least two significant conclusions. Recognizing that in Jesus' day there were no prophets, Young suggests (1) that the expected prophet would be one of two individuals: Elijah (or the forerunner of the Messiah) or the Messiah himself, and (2) that in a sense not only the prophet's life but the prophet's death was typed.[313] The first is of special importance when we remember that the prophetic designation "servant" was used of Jesus in a cultic way by the earliest Palestinian community with messianic overtones. Young presents strong evidence to substantiate his observation that the role of the expected prophet was closely associated with messianic hope.[314] The second point is equally significant for an understanding of Jesus and the meaning of his passion. Bousset, in 1906, maintained that in the Intertestamental period there came into being the cult of the prophet-martyrs;[315] Ethelbert Stauffer, among others, recently has listed the many references to the long line of prophets who, as a part of their vocation, suffered unmerited martyrdom.[316]

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[313] Franklin W. Young, "Jesus the Prophet: A Re-Examination," Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. LXVIII (Dec 1949), ed. by J. Philip Hyatt, pp. 285-299 (Philadelphia: The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1949), pp. 294, 297-298.

[314] Ibid., pp. 295-297.

[315] Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums, pp. 218-219, cited by Young, ibid., p. 294.

[316] E. Stauffer, Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 3rd ed. 1947), Beilage I, "Hauptelemente der altbiblischen Maertyrertheologie," pp. 314-317; the fullest discussion of the martyr-prophet motif in Judaism, before and after Christ, is to be found in two articles by H. A. Fischel, entitled "Martyr and Prophet (A Study in Jewish Literature)," The Jewish Quarterly Review, ed.

Paul E. Davies, having discussed Jesus as a prophet in 1945, resumed the consideration with an unfortunately neglected article in 1957. In this latter article, Davies (1) briefly reviews the relevant Synoptic passages concerning the suffering of Jesus, (2) presents the evidence for the tradition of the prophet-martyrs, citing Bousset, G. F. Moore, Stauffer, and Young, stressing the fact that in the traditional belief the suffering of the righteous prophets was vicarious and had atoning efficacy, (3) indicates that Jesus put himself in the role of the suffering prophet, (4) suggests that one usage of the title "Son of man" was its utilization by Jesus to indicate his role as a prophet-martyr, a suggestion supported by numerous parallels which Davies presents between Jesus and Ezekiel, (5) maintains that Jesus' sense of mission as a martyr-prophet conflicts neither with his role as Messiah nor with the possibility that Jesus may have interpreted his death as in some sense a ransom for sin or as a sacrifice on behalf of the nation.[317] What then was the meaning of the cross, the symbol and instrument of Jesus' final submission to the consequences of his prophetic calling?

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by A. A. Neuman and S. Zeitlin, Vol. XXXVII (1946-1947), pp. 265-280, 363-386, in which Fischel demonstrates beyond the shadow of a doubt the existence of the martyr-prophet tradition and its significance, including the fact that the death of the martyr-prophet had atoning or expiatory effect for the sins of the people.

[317] Paul E. Davies, "Did Jesus Die as a Martyr-Prophet?" Biblical Research, Vol. II (1957), (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1957), pp. 19-30. Davies' suggestions are especially interesting when viewed against Fischel's discussion.

> Negatively, the cross was the measure of men's utter rejection of Jesus, and as such the cross was a symbol of the frightfully destructive effect of sin.
>
> Positively, the cross shows in simplest terms the strength of Jesus's life purpose in relation to his people, in obedience to God! Nothing could stop his full obedience as a faithful prophet of God. All of this turns us back to Jesus' life and ministry for meanings and purposes. In that ministry through the years Jesus did deal drastically with sin, Jesus did proclaim the forgiveness of sin. His death, therefore, as his life, was "for sin," and, in the positive outcome, for the forgiveness of sin.
>
> Similarly, men found in Jesus' ministry for men the outreach of the love of God, loving service even in the humblest capacity. No wonder then that Paul could say, "He loved me and gave himself for me", . . . The cross became the symbol of that love and service against the deadly resistance of men. What did the cross add? It showed that this life-purpose was carried out at any cost. It did not come on him unawares. Jesus did not face death for the first time in the shadow of the cross. Jesus knew what had happened to the prophets, and he knew this could and would happen to him in the call of dutiful obedience. If we are to find redemptive significance in the cross, we must related it to the life and life-purpose of Jesus. Jesus did not choose to die. He did choose to be an obedient servant of God, even if that meant a prophet's fate.[318]

To state the matter succinctly: Jesus regarded himself as a prophet who stood in a long line of martyr-prophets; he therefore both anticipated and accepted persecution and death as the inevitable consequence of his vocation. A number of factors, both specific and general, support this contention. First, such a sense of mission provides an adequate basis for the full humanity of Jesus; it is difficult to regard Jesus as fully man if it is maintained that during his ministry he considered himself to be the "Lord," the

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[318] Ibid., pp. 20-30

post-Easter Messiah, or the apocalyptic Son of man. Secondly, it also provides a basis for the post-Easter interpretation of the person and mission of Jesus: we have demonstrated that both the motifs of Jesus as Lord and Christ are associated with the exaltation of the Risen One; the extension of meaning involved in the shift from the martyr-prophet Son of Man to the apocalyptic Son of man (including the belief in the Second Coming) would not have been difficult; likewise he who called God "Father" in the light of post-Easter messianism could easily be spoken of as "the Son of God." Thirdly, such a view finds positive reflection in the post-Easter interpretation of Jesus' passion, e.g., the statements of Peter at Pentacost, the motif of absolute obedience in the ancient hymn found in Philippians 2, and--in general--the dominant motif of humiliation/exaltation. In addition, the concept of Jesus as the "servant" of God--discussed above--strongly supports the view, and it may even be possible that the motif of the obedience to the Son of man, as prophet-martyr, stands behind the Adam typology of Paul.[319] Fourthly, Jesus was so regarded by the early church, at least among the Hellenists in the Jerusalem community (Acts 7:51-53); Jesus himself explicitly speaks of his mission as that of a martyr-prophet (Luke 11:49-51; 13:32-34; and parallels). Whether he considered himself as one of a long line of martyr-prophets, or the last one with a unique function, we will consider in a moment.

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[319] Schweizer, op. cit., pp. 46-47, for a brief discussion of this motif; also see discussions above on relevant Pauline passages.

The burden of proof, therefore, should rest on those who maintain that this motif is not dominant in the thought of Jesus. In addition, greater effort should be expended to explore this concept.

Yet, it may be argued, the earliest Christian community interpreted the passion of Jesus "according to the Scriptures."[320] Where do we find this concept in scriptural sources? The answer to this question has two parts. One: we must not assume that the early Christian community had a concept of Scripture as restricted as ours. Paul in I Corinthians 2:19 introduces a citation from a non-scriptural source--to us--with the scriptural citation formula, "it stands written."[321] Jesus himself quotes from a non-scriptural source--to us--called "The Wisdom of God," a passage which most likely had been thoroughly studied and assimilated into his sense of mission, and which he could cite as authority against the accepted Jewish scriptural scholars.[322] If Paul and Jesus thus quoted non-canonical material as scripture, material which in the case of Jesus was assumed to be authoritative, does this not imply that our conception of what constituted scripture is too limited? We only have a reference to the "Wisdom of God" in this text; how many more scriptural sources were at the disposal of the early Christian community that we do not have? The second point is this: even with what we do have, adequate Old Testament material is

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[320] I Cor. 15:3; so Jeremias, op. cit., p. 88.

[321] Supra, pp. 352f.

[322] Luke 11:49

accessible to support from scripture Jesus' role as a martyr-prophet. From Isaiah we might mention 53:7c-8c and 50:6, both of which were interpreted out of context, being subordinated to other motifs. The basic prophetic source, however, was not Isaiah; it was the prophecies of David, the Psalms. We tend to forget that for the early Christians the Psalms were written by David the prophet, and--as we have noted especially in the case of Psalm 110--he spoke of Jesus, Christ and Lord. Equally obvious is the fact that the same source contained prophecies of the suffering of Jesus, especially Psalms 22 and 69. We may agree with Schweizer, following Lohmeyer, "that to the early Church the first book of the Passion of Jesus was formed by the Psalms of the suffering of the Righteous One."[323] This usage partially accounts for the fact that the Psalms are the most often cited source in the Old Testament. The phrase, "according to the scriptures," signifies therefore (1) references to the passion of Jesus, especially in the Old Testament Psalms, (2) selected passages from other OT documents, and (3) additional scriptural citations from non-canonical sources. As we have seen, Isaiah 53 as a unit was not used to undergird this concept.

Finally, if the "servant songs" of Isaiah 40-55 had no direct influence upon Jesus' understanding of his passion, what influence did Isaiah 40-66 exercise? For Jesus Isaiah 40-66--like any other portion of Scripture--was significant as an expression of God's

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[323]Schweizer, op. cit., p. 34.

will and purposes. Hence, in the cleansing of the Temple Jesus cites with emphasis Isaiah 56:7d, coupling the passage with an image from Jeremiah.[324] Isaiah 66:1 is assimilated into thé teaching of Jesus found in Matthew 5:34-35.[325] Isaiah 55:af. constitutes the primary scriptural basis for the fourth beatitude in Matthew,[326] and Isaiah 57:15 provides partial basis for Matthew's first beatitude.[327] The most crucial usage, however, is Jesus' implementation of Isaiah 61:1-3, portions of which stand behind five of Matthew's beatitudes and three of Luke's; in addition, the same portion stands behind the reply of Jesus to the emissaries of the imprisoned John the Baptist.[328]

Hence, Isaiah 61:1-3 is a scriptural unit of special importance in the extant teachings of Jesus and in Jesus' sense of mission, for it is in terms of this passage that Jesus himself explicitly describes his work to the Baptist. The same implementation of this passage appears in an even more explicit form in Luke's gospel: 4:17b,18,19. This passage is part of the pericope which presents Jesus' sermon in Nazareth, and its authenticity has been doubted by many scholars. We have indicated above, however, that the usage of this passage in the teachings of Jesus, and in his reply to John the Baptist, gives almost unassailable support to the position that the sermon--in essence--is authentic, and that the passage from Isaiah 61 not only was programmatic for Luke and his community but

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[324] Supra, pp. 169-173

[325] Supra, pp. 341-343

[326] Supra, pp. 321-323

[327] Supra, pp. 330-331

[328] Supra, pp. 337-340

also constituted for Jesus the scriptural basis for his prophetic ministry.[329] That Jesus regarded himself as a prophet is undeniable, for in Luke 4:24, a part of the pericope under discussion, Jesus states--in reference to his rejection by his townsfolk--the observation, "Truly, I say to you, no prophet is acceptable in his own country." It has been indicated above that Jesus placed himself in the line of the suffering prophets. Further evidence of this prophetic consciousness is to be found in the cleansing of the temple, an act which at least was prophetic in character.[330]

The significance of Jesus' prophetic consciousness is difficult for many scholars to perceive, recovering as we are from the not-too-ancient viewpoint that the prophetic office says little about the distinctiveness of Jesus. "The title, prophet, has in a sense served as a least common denominator for studies in christology."[331] As Young has suggested, the time has now arrived for a re-examination of what it means when we say that the people acknowledged Jesus as a prophet and that he himself accepted the title.

Young points the way when he demonstrates that the phrase "just another prophet" was incomprehensible to the Jews of Jesus' day, that the return of the prophetic spirit was inextricably related to messianic times, and that the term "prophet" had become an eschatological term.[332]

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[329] Supra. pp. 202-205

[330] Supra, pp. 171-174

[331] Young, op. cit., p. 286

[332] Ibid., p. 297

> There could be only two kinds of prophets: false-prophets and "the prophet." The former were those who did not establish their claims, not in terms of prognostication, but through the redemption of Israel. "The prophet" alone could do this.
>
> We must also acknowledge the weighty evidence for the fact that in the minds of the Jews the true prophet sealed his mission by his death. . . .the great prophets of the past not only lived for, and spoke to their people; they died for them. Both phases characterized the office of the prophet. . . The problem of the "messianic consciousness" of Jesus confronts us if and when we acknowledge that he was a "prophet" in the eyes of the people and in his own estimation.[333]

Thus we must speak primarily not of prophetic teachings but of the prophetic mission. Is it possible that Jesus regarded himself as "the prophet?" In the light of Jesus' usage of Isaiah 61:1ff., it does not seem unlikely. Jesus may have considered himself to be the eschatological prophet par excellence, anointed with the Spirit, standing before the end-time,[334] proclaiming the advent of the Kingdom of God, an advent being realized not only in his proclamation, but also in his life and inevitable death. Therefore, for Jesus, his life and death could have redemptive and expiatory significance, for through him the Kingdom of God was being initiated, and by his death as a martyr-prophet the sins of his people would be expiated. Such a view gives full significance to the authentic words and acts of Jesus; in addition, a strong basis for the post-Easter faith is provided. Such a view is based almost exclusively on Isaiah 61:1ff.; the influence of this passage is therefore of supreme importance in understanding the self-

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[333] Ibid., p. 298

[334] Supra, p. 201

consciousness of Jesus.

> And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and he went to the synagogue, as his custom was, on the sabbath day. And he stood up to read; and there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book and found the place where it was written,
>
> 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
> because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor.
> He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind,
> to set at liberty those who are oppressed,
> to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.'
>
> And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him. And he began to say to them, "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing."[335]

E. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

Jesus found no special significance in the "suffering servant songs" of Second Isaiah, especially Isaiah 52:13-53:12; rather, all indications point to the conclusion that he did not question the traditional messianic interpretation of these passages. However, of special significance for Jesus was Isaiah 61:1ff. The content of this unit not only is reflected in his teachings but also entered into the essence of his self-consciousness as a prophet. He understood his suffering to be inevitable in his role as a prophet, for he explicitly placed himself in the long line of martyr-prophets who by their lives and deaths proved themselves obedient to God's will and whose deaths were of piacular effect for the sins of the people. Thus for Jesus his suffering was

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[335] Luke 4:16-21

vicarious and had redemptive significance. Jesus, in addition, did not consider himself to be "a prophet," but "the prophet" who immediately preceded the end-time, who--anointed with the Spirit--proclaimed the dawn of the Kingdom of God and was being used by God to usher in the Kingdom--the eschatological prophet in the superlative degree.

We cannot say how Jesus understood the consummation of his mission; neither can we demonstrate beyond doubt that Jesus foresaw his Resurrection. We can affirm, on the basis of the prior discussion, that Jesus considered his life and death to have redemptive significance; he was obedient unto death and confident in his Father's power to work His Will. This is precisely what the early Christians understood to have happened in the Resurrection. Regardless of what Jesus expected, if indeed he ever defined his expectation, the disciples understood the Resurrection to signify the vindication and exaltation of the Son through a mighty affirmative act of the Father. In order to give rational content to this overwhelming conviction, they were driven to the Scriptures. Out of this Scriptural matrix arose the earliest and most primitive interpretative motifs concerning the person of the Risen One: JESUS is THE CHRIST, and JESUS is LORD. The former was based primarily on Psalm 110, and was secondarily supported by a number of other scriptural citations, including Isaiah 42:1ff., perhaps 52:12, and 55:3d; all with strong messianic overtones; closely associated with this interpretative motif was the cultic usage of the primarily messianic designation. Isaiah 52:13-53:12

played little part in the usage of this designation. The second motif, JESUS is LORD, at the most primitive level was based on Psalm 110:1, at an extremely early date was developed by the application of Isaiah 45:23, and from that point on continually was elaborated by the implementation of various passages from Second Isaiah, a process still observable in the Fourth Gospel. Both of these motifs originated in the primitive Palestinian community, although perhaps in different circles within that community; the motif of Jesus as the Messiah would have been especially relevant to the Hebraic community and to the mission to the Hebrews, whereas the motif of Jesus as the Lord would have been more relevant to the Hellenes and the Gentile mission. The eventual dominance of the second motif is to be attributed not to a difference in origin but to the effect of divergent historical events. The motifs belonged together, but the course of events separated them.

This post-Easter interpretation is on one hand a continuation of and on the other hand a transformation of the prophetic self-consciousness of the historical Jesus. Jesus as the messianic prophet has been exalted by the Father to the office of Messiah; He who proclaimed the dawn of the Kingdom of God has been used by God to bring it into existence, proleptically among His servants now, in fullness at the end of the age. He who spoke and acted with the authority of God in his earthly ministry has been raised to the position of Lord--of His church, of Creation, of the End--and is establishing His reign through His servants. He who was anointed

with the Spirit has poured out the Spirit upon His servants and His witnesses. The vicarious suffering of Jesus the martyr-prophet finds its completion in the obedient suffering of His people. By the power of God JESUS, the martyr-prophet, is MESSIAH/LORD, and in the light of this recognition His disciples--the new Israel--find their meaning, their mission, and their destiny.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CITATIONS AND PROBABLE ALLUSIONS TO ISAIAH 40-66 FOUND IN SPECIFIC NEW TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS

References are here grouped according to New Testament writings. Consult Appendices D and E if listing in the order of Isaiah 40-66 is desired.
/// - indicates a citation.
\# - signifies a probable allusion.
The references which stand second are to Isaiah 40-66.

Pauline Letters

Gal. 1:15 # 49:1
Gal. 4:26,27 /// 54:1

I Cor. 2:9 # 64:4
I Cor. 2:16 /// 40:13

II Cor. 5:17 # 42:9
II Cor. 6:2 /// 49:8abc
II Cor. 6:17 /// 52:11
II Cor. 7:4,6,9 # 49:13
II Cor. 9:10 # 55:10

Rom. 2:23,24 /// 52:5
Rom. 3:15-17 /// 53:1
Rom. 10:15 /// 52:7
Rom. 10:15,16 /// 53:1
Rom. 10:20,21 /// 65:1,2
Rom. 11:26,27 /// 59:20,21a
Rom. 11:34,35 /// 40:13
Rom. 14:11 /// 45:23; 49:18
Rom. 15:21,22 /// 52:15

Phil. 2:9 # 42:8
Phil. 2:10,11 # 45:23
Phil. 2:16 # 49:4

I Thess. 5:8 # 59:17

Post-Pauline Letters

II Thess. 1:8 # 66:15

Eph. 2:13-15 # 57:19
Eph. 6:14,17 # 59:17
Eph. 6:15 # 52:7

Catholic and Pastoral Letters

I Pet. 1:24-25 /// 40:6-8
I Pet. 2:9 # 43:20,21
I Pet. 2:22,24,25 # 53:4-6, 9, 12

II Pet. 1:17 # 42:1
II Pet. 3:13 # 65:17; 66:22

James 2:23 # 41:8

Hebrews 9:28 # 53:12
Hebrews 13:20 # 55:3

The Synoptic Gospels and Acts

Matt. 3:3 /// 40:3
Matt. 3:17 # 42:1
Matt. 5:3 # 57:15
Matt. 5:6 # 55:1-2
Matt. 5:3-6,12 # 61:1,2
Matt. 5:34,35 # 66:1
Matt. 8:17 /// 53:4ab
Matt. 11:5 # 61:1
Matt. 12:18-21 /// 42:1-4
Matt. 17:5 # 42:1
Matt. 21:13 /// 56:7d
Matt. 24:35 # 40:8
Matt. 26:67 # 50:6
Matt. 27:26 # 50:6

Mark 1:3 /// 40:3
Mark 1:11 # 42:1
Mark 2:6 # 43:25; 55:7
Mark 9:7 # 42:1
Mark 11:17 /// 56:7d
Mark 13:31 # 40:8
Mark 14:61 # 53:7
Mark 14:65 # 50:6
Mark 15:5 # 53:7
Mark 15:15 # 50:6

Luke 1:54,55 # 41:8,9
Luke 2:25 # 66:2
Luke 2:30 # 40:5; 52:10
Luke 2:32 # 49:6
Luke 3:4-6 /// 40:3-5
Luke 4:17b,18,19 /// 58:6; 61:1-2a
Luke 5:21 # 43:25; 55:7
Luke 6:20 # 57:15
Luke 6:20,21,23 # 61:1-2
Luke 6:21 # 55:1-2
Luke 7:22 # 61:1,2
Luke 9:32 # 40:5; 61:1-2
Luke 19:46 /// 56:7d
Luke 22:37 /// 53:12
Luke 24:48 # 43:11,12; 44:8

Acts 1:8,22 # 43:11,12; 44:8
Acts 2:32 # 43:11; 44:8
Acts 2:33 # 52:13
Acts 3:13 # 52:13
Acts 3:14,15 # 43:11; 44:8
Acts 4:32 # 43:11; 44:8
Acts 5:31 # 52:13
Acts 5:32 # 43:11,12; 44:8
Acts 7:48b,49 /// 66:1,2a
Acts 8:23 # 58:6
Acts 8:32,33 # 53:7,8
Acts 10:36 # 52:7
Acts 10:36-43 # 43:11,12; 44:8
Acts 13:30,31 # 43:11,12; 44:8
Acts 13:34 /// 55:3
Acts 13:47 /// 49:6
Acts 17:24,25 # 42:5
Acts 22:14,15 # 43:11,12; 44:8
Acts 26:16 # 43:11,12; 44:8
Acts 26:18 # 42:16
Acts 26:18 # 42:7

The Johannine Literature

John 1:4 # 60:1-3
John 1:14 # 40:5
John 1:14 # 58:11
John 1:23 /// 40:3
John 4:14 # 49:10
John 6:45 # 54:13
John 7:38 # 58:11
John 8:12 # 60:1-3
John 12:37,38 /// 53:1
John 19:3 # 50:6

(Isaiah 66:18-19 is important for Johannine thought but cannot be isolated to particular verses.)

The Revelation of John of Patmos

Rev. 1:8,17 # 44:6; 48:12
Rev. 2:8 # 44:6; 48:12
Rev. 2:17 # 65:15
Rev. 3:11 # 40:10; 62:12; 66:15
Rev. 7:16 # 49:10
Rev. 7:17 # 65:17, 19
Rev. 14:20 # 63:1-3,6
Rev. 16:1,17 # 66:6
Rev. 18:4 # 52:11
Rev. 18:6 # 40:2; 47:6
Rev. 18:7,8 # 47:8
Rev. 20:11 # 65:17; 66:22
Rev. 21:1 # 65:17; 66:22
Rev. 21:2,10 # 48:2; 52:1; 61:10
Rev. 21:4 # 65:17,19
Rev. 21:5 # 43:19
Rev. 21:6 # 49:10; 55:1
Rev. 21:6 # 44:6; 48:12
Rev. 21:18f. # 54:11
Rev. 21:25,26 # 60:11,13
Rev. 21:27 # 48:2; 52:1; 61:10
Rev. 22:7,12 # 40:10; 62:12; 66:15
Rev. 22:13 # 44:6; 48:12
Rev. 22:17 # 49:10; 55:1

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF AQUILA, THEODOTION, AND SYMMACHUS WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT-FORM FOUND IN QUOTATIONS FROM ISAIAH 40-66

The placing of a New Testament book under either LXX or Other indicates the textual tradition represented in that usage.
no - indicates that the translation under which the word is placed is different from the New Testament text-form.
yes- indicates that the translation under which the word is placed is identical with the New Testament text-form.
* - indicates that we do not have the translation of this verse made by the translator under whose name it appears.

Passage	Aquila	Theodotion	Symmachus	LXX	Other
40:3,5	(Jn) verb only	no	no	Matt. Mk. Lk.	Jn.
40:6-8	no	no	no		I Pet.
40:13	no	no	no	Rom. I Cor.	
42:1-4	no	2 phrases 1 verb	no		Matt.
45:23	no	no	no	Rom.	
49:6	yes	yes	yes	Acts	
49:8abc	no	no	no	II Cor.	
49:18	*	*	*	Rom.	
52:5	*	*	no	Rom(?)	
52:7	no	no	no	Rom(?)	
52:11	no	*	no	II Cor.	
52:15	*	*	*	Rom.	
53:1	*	*	*	Rom.	
53:1	*	no	*	John	

Passage	Aquila	Theodotion	Symmachus	LXX	Other
53:4ab	no	no	1 phrase		Matt.
53:7,8	*	no	1 phrase	Acts	
53:12	no	no	no	Luke(?)	
54:1	no	no	no	Gal.	
55:3	*	no	no	Acts	
56:7d	*	*	*	Matt. Mk. Lk.	
58:6	no	*	no	Lk.	
59:7,8a	2 words	*	2 words	Rom.	
59:20,21a	no	no	no	Rom.	
61:1,2a	no	no	no	Lk.	
65:1,2	*	*	*	Rom.	
66:1,2a	*	no	no	Acts	

APPENDIX C

CITATION FORMULAE LISTED BY VERB ROOT

γέγραπται	Matt. 21:13
	Lk. 19:46
γέγραπται ὅτι	Mk. 11:17
καθὼς γέγραπται	Mk. 1:3
	Rom. 10:15
	11:26-27
	15:20
καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι	Rom. 3:15-17
γέγραπται γάρ	Rom. 14:11
	Gal. 4:27
ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου . .	Lk. 3:4-6
εὗρεν τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον	Lk. 4:17b-19
τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί, τό	Lk. 22:37
λέγει γάρ	II Cor. 6:2
Ἡσαιας γὰρ λέγει	Rom. 10:16
καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει	Acts 7:48b-49
Ἡσαιας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει	Rom. 10:20-21
καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαιας ὁ προφήτης	John 1:23
καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι	II Cor. 6:17
ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν	John 12:38
οὕτως εἴρηκεν ὅτι	Acts 13:34
οὗτος...ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος	Matt. 3:3
ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος	Matt. 8:17
ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαιου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος	Matt. 12:16-21
οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος	Acts 13:47
διότι	I Pet. 1:24,25
NO CITATION FORMULA	Rom. 11:34
	I Cor. 2:16
	Mk. 9:48
	Acts 8:32-33

APPENDIX D

EXEGETICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CITATIONS OF ISAIAH 40-66 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

(x) - indicates the possible usage of the Biblical passage in the tradition, although in its extant form the Isaianic passage may be used differently.

Columns for Halakah, Haggadah, and Midrash Pesher are not given; no citations are implemented in these ways.

Passage	Christian Haggadah	Supportive Text	Assimilation
40:3-5	x		
40:6-8		x	(x-homiletic)
40:13 (Rom.)		x	(x-doxological)
40:13 (I Cor.)			x didactic
42:1-4	x (x)		
49:6	x		
49:8		x	(x-kerygmatic)
45:23; 49:18		x	
52:5		x	
52:7		x	
52:11			x prophetic
52:15	x		
53:1 (Rom.)		x	
53:1 (John)	x		
53:4	x		
53:7-8	x		
53:12	x		
54:1	x		
55:3	x		
56:7d			x didactic
59:7,8		x	x didactic
59:20,21	(x)	x	
61:1-2; 58:6	x (x)		
65:1,2	x		

APPENDIX E

EXEGETICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROBABLE ALLUSIONS TO ISAIAH 40-66 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

These probable allusions are arranged according to their order in Isaiah. In the text, the allusions are discussed by New Testament groups, e.g., Pauline Epistles, Synoptic material, etc.
Terms used here are defined in the body of this paper.
(x) - indicates the possible usage of the Biblical material in the tradition, although in its extant form the Isaianic passage may be used differently.

Isaiah Passage	Nt Passage	Haggadah	Christian Haggadah	Supportive Text	Assimilation and Type
40:2; 44:7	Rev. 18:6				x - apocalyptic
40:5; 61:1f.	Lk. 9:32		(x-Lord)		x - confessional
40:5	John 1:14		(x-Lord)		x - confessional
40:5; 52:10	Lk. 2:30		(x-Lord)		x - cultic (birth story)
40:8	Mt. 24:35		(x-Lord)		x - confessional
-	Mk. 13:31		(x-Lord)		x - confessional
40:10; 66: 15; 62:12	Rev. 3:11; 22:7,12		(x-Lord)		x - apocalyptic
41:8	Jas. 2:23	x			
41:8,9	Lk. 1:54,55		(x-Mary?)		x - cultic
42:1	Mk. 1:11;		(x-Christ)		x - confessional
-	9:7; Mt.		-		-
-	3:17;		-		-
-	17:5; II		-		-
-	Pet 1:17		-		-
-	1:17		-		-
42:5	Acts 17:24f.		(x-God?)		x - didactic-homiletic
42:7	Acts 26:18				x - personally by Paul
42:8	Phil. 2:9				x - hymnic-confessional
42:16	Acts 26:18				x - personally by Paul
43:9	II Cor. 5:17			(x-?)	x - didactic-confessional

Isaiah Passage	NT Passage	Haggadah	Christian Haggadah	Supportive Text	Assimilation and Type
43:11,12	Lk. 24:48; Acts 1:8 and over twelve others		(x-church)		x - confessional
43:19	Rev. 21:5				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
43:20,21	I Pet. 2:9		(x-church)		x - didactic
43:25; 55:7	Mk. 2:6; Lk. 5:21				x - didactic: scribes confessional: church
44:6; 48:12	Rev. 1:8,17; 2:8; 21:6;				
-	22:13		(x-Lord)		x - prophetic-apocalyptic
44:8;(see 43:11,12)					
45:23	Phil. 2:10f.		(x-Lord)		x - hymnic-confessional
47:6 (see 40:2)					
47:8	Rev. 18:7,8		(x-Babylon)		x - prophetic-apocalyptic
48:2; 52: 1: 61: 10	Rev. 21:2,10; 21:27 -				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
48:12 (see 44:6)					
49:1	Gal. 1:15				x - personally by Paul
49:4	Phil. 2:16				x - personally by Paul
49:6	Lk. 2:32				x - cultic-confessional
49:10	Jn. 4:14				x - didactic-confessional
49:10	Rev. 7:16				x - hymnic-prophetic
49:10; 55:1	Rev. 21:6, 22:17		(x-Risen One)		x - prophetic-apocalyptic
49:13 -	II Cor. 7: 4,6,9				x - personally by Paul
50:6	Jn. 19:3		(x-passion)		x - didactic-confessional
50:6 - - -	Mk. 14:65; 15:15; Mt. 26:67; 27:26		(x-passion)		x - didactic-confessional

Isaiah Passage	NT Passage	Haggadah	Christian Haggadah	Supportive Text	Assimilation and Type
52:1 (see 48:2)					
52:7	Eph 6:15				x - metaphorical-didactic
52:7	Acts 10:36			(x-didactic)	x - didactic
52:10 (see 40:5)					
52:11	Rev. 18:4				x - apocalyptic-prophetic
52:13	Acts 2:33;		(x-Christ/		x - confessional
-	3:13;		Lord)		
	5:31				
53:4,5,6	I Pet. 2:		(x-passion)		x - homiletic-didactic
9,12	22,24,25				
53:7	Mk. 14:61;		(x-passion)		x - didactic-confessional
-	15:5				
53:12	Heb. 9:28		(x-Christ)		x - didactic
54:11	Rev. 21:18f.			(x)	x - prophetic-apocalyptic
54:13	Jn. 6:45		x - Lord		
55:1 (see 49:10)					
55:1-2	Mt. 5:6;				x - homiletic-didactic
-	Lk. 6:21				
55:3	Heb. 13:20			(x-covenant)	x - didactic
55:7 (see 43:25)					
55:10	II Cor. 9:10			(x)	x - didactic
57:15	Mt. 5:3;				x - didactic
	Lk. 6:20				
57:19	Eph. 2:13-15			(x-peace)	x - didactic
58:6	Acts 8:23			(x-preaching)	x - linguistic
58:11	Jn. 1:14; 7:38				x - linguistic
59:17	Eph. 6:14,17				x - metaphorical-didactic
59:17	I Thess. 5:8				x - metaphorical-didactic
60:1-3	Jn. 1:4;		(x-Lord:		x - didactic-confessional
-	8:12		"light")		
60:11,13	Rev. 21:				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
-	25,26				

Isaiah Passage	NT Passage	Haggadah	Christian Haggadah	Supportive Text	Assimilation and Type
61:1	Mt. 11:5				x - didactic
61:1,2	Mt. 5:3-6,12;			(x-kingdom)	x - didactic
-	11:5; Lk.				
-	6:20,21,23;				
-	7:22				
61:1,2 (see 40:5)					
61:10 (see 48:2)					
62:12 (see 40:10)					
63:1-3,6	Rev. 14:20				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
-	-				
64:4	I Cor. 2:9				x - prophetic-liturgical-apocalyptic
-	-				
65:15	Rev. 2:17				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
-	-				
65:17; 66:22	II Pet. 3:13				x - confessional
65:17; 66:22	Rev. 20:11;				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
-	21:1				
65:17,19	Rev. 7:17;				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
-	21:4				
66:1	Mt. 5:34,35				x - didactic
66:2	Lk. 2:25		(x-Lord)		x - cultic: birth story
66:6	Rev. 16:1,17				x - prophetic-apocalyptic
-	-				
66:15	II Thess. 1:8		(x-Lord)		x - prophetic-apocalyptic
-	-				
66:15 (see 40:10)					
66:22 (see 66:22)					